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[No. 1

ON HARES AND DREAMS *

BY DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

"The Hare hath swallowed up the imminent blade" *R̥gveda*,
X. 28.9.

"Whom the great Dog pursues in an unending race" *Aratos*,
Phainomena—678.

Dr. Layard, author of *The Stone Men of Malekula*, is a well-known anthropologist, and has since become a psycho-analyst. Dr. Layard's new book falls into two parts: the first an annotated case history of a patient's problems, with special reference to her dream of a hare which she was required to sacrifice, the victim being at the same time perfectly willing; and the second summarising the Egyptian, Classical, European, Indian, Chinese and American mythological significance of the archetypal symbolism of the Hare.

The case history will be of particular interest to anyone who, like the reviewer, is thoroughly distrustful of psycho-analysis, Freud and Jung; I think that Dr. Layard owes much less than he

* With special reference to *The Lady of the Hare; a Study in the Healing Power of Dreams*: by John Layard. London, Faber and Faber, 1945, pp. 277 and 22 illustrations.

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supposes to Jung, and much more than he supposes to his faith in supra-personal spiritual forces. His procedure in a case in which any false step would have produced disastrous results is extremely sagacious throughout: and while his knowledge of archetypal symbols seems to have come to him primarily from psycho-analytic sources, it is evident that his successful interpretations, inductions and applications *ad hominem* are to be accounted for partly by his anthropological background, but still more by his profound conviction of the reality of religious experience. It is surely his belief in spiritual—as distinct from merely somatic and psychic—forces that enabled him to avoid the pitfalls of a too personal interpretation of the dream symbols and to stress their impersonal and religious significance.

Dr. Layard recognises that the sacrifice of the willing Hare is really that of the outer man, or self of uncontrolled instinct, to the inner man or “Soul of the soul”, the “self’s immortal Self and Leader” of the Upaniṣads. He uses, of course, not these, but the technical terms of psycho-analysis, “shadow”, and “animus” or “anima”; by which I understand the psycho-physical and spiritual “selves” respectively; it is of the first of these that Meister Eckhart says that “the soul must put itself to death”. For the end of self-integration which the healer of souls has in view it seems to me better and simpler to adhere to the traditional psychology (*e.g.* that of Plato, Philo, the Vedic and earlier Christian) according to which, in the words of St. Thomas Aquinas, *duo sunt in homine*, a fact that our everyday speech acknowledges whenever we speak of “taking counsel with ourselves”, or of “con-science”, or think of “being true to oneself” or even when we say to someone who is misbehaving. “Be yourself”. Using these equally Platonic and Indian terms, we say that our internal conflicts, which are essentially a matter of waiting to act in one way and knowing that we ought to act in another, remain unresolved until an agreement has been reached as to which shall rule, our worse or better self. The sacrifice of the hare represents in these terms an *ātma-yağña*, or sacrifice of the self to the Self, having this result, that the man who has made his sacrifice is now “at peace with himself”; the very word for “peace” (*śānti*)

corresponding to the fact that a victim has been "given its quietus" (*sānta*).

The world recoils from such an approach and justifies itself on the ground that "desires *suppressed* breed pestilence",—a truth that psycho-analysis has rediscovered. In fact, however, there is no question of a suppression of the outer man, but only of integration, only of the substitution of autonomy for the subjection to his ruling *passions* that *l'homme moyen sensuel* suffers from. When the peace has been made, friendship and co-operation replace conflict; and as the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (II. 3. 7) says of the man who has recognised, and identified himself with (in the Pauline sense, so that "I live, yet not I but Christ in me"), the Lord of the powers-of-the-soul (*bhūtānām adhipati*, immanent Breath, Spiritus) and as one "unfettered" (*visrasā*) leaves this world, "This self lends itself to that Self, and that Self to this self; they coalesce (*tāv anyonyaṃ abhisambhavantah*). With this aspect (*rūpa*) he is united with (*abhisambhavati*) yonder world, and with that aspect he is united with this world."

The two "aspects" correspond, of course, to the two natures or aspects (*rūpa*) of Brahma, respectively morphic and amorphic, mortal and immortal with which he experiences both the real (yonder world) and the unreal (this world) (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* III. 3. 1 *Maitri Up.* VIII. 11. 8),—or, if we call this world real, then both this reality and the "reality of the reality", or, again, in Platonic terms, both the sensible and the intelligible worlds. The man who has thus "put himself together again" (*ātmanāṃ saṁdhā*) and is accordingly "synthesised" (*saṁhita*, in *saṁādhi*) is at the same time unloosed or untied (*visrasā*), an expression used with reference both to his "death" (as in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* III. 7. 2, *Kaṭha Up.* V. 14, compare *R̥gveda* VIII. 48. 5 and Plato, *Timaeus* 81, D. E) and (notably in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* context) to the "undoing of all the knots of the heart" (*Kaṭha Up.* VI. 15) or of the "fetters of death" with which the powers of soul are infected at birth and from which the Sacrifice is a means of liberation (*Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* IV. 9 and 10); expressed in the terms of psycho-analysis, the man thus liberated and regenerated is now "uninhabited"; applicable to him are the words of St. Augustine,

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"Love God, and do what you will", and Dante's "Now take thine own will for thy guide,.....above thyself I crown and mitre thee".

The language of the *Āraṇyaka* passage is pregnant, and can also be interpreted in terms of death and rebirth, as in John III. 3, for "in so far as a man has not sacrificed, he is still unborn" (*Jaiminīya Up. Brāhmaṇa* III. 14. 8). In this connection it should not be overlooked that in the exegesis of the Vedic sacrifice it is emphasized that the willing victim represents the sacrificer himself, and that the sacrificial Fire "knows that he has come to give himself up to me"; and furthermore, that the true Sacrifice is enacted within you, day by day. The language of the *Āraṇyaka* can also be interpreted in terms of the "sacred marriage" of heaven and earth, sacerdotium and regnum. Dr. Layard is quite aware of these implications (p. 69); but I mention them here because the traditional concept avoids the confusing distinction of *animus* from *anima*; *animus* in psycho-analysis representing the higher principle as envisaged by women, and *anima* the higher principle as envisaged by men. The Central Breath or principle of Life ("*Spiritus est qui vivificat, caro non prodest*") is "neither male nor female or neuter", but in terms of the "sacred marriage" it is always, and equally for women and for men, the "Bridegroom"; for alike in Christian and Indian thought, "all creation is feminine to God". It is in this connection, indeed, that we have to understand the doctrine of "rebirth as a man" as a condition of salvation: this does not mean at all that "men" are salvable and "women" are lost, but has to do with the respectively virile or noetic and feminine or sensitive natures that coexist in every man and woman, as they did in Adam; it is just as possible for the woman to play the manly part as it is for a man to be "womanish" for example, modern "aesthetics", to which so many "men" have devoted their energies, is essentially and as the word itself implies a *sentimental* science, contrasting in this respect with the older and more virile theories which correlated art with cognition rather than with mere feeling. The Man in "this man" so-and-so is just as much the Man in "this woman" so-and-so; and it is of this "Common Man," Heracleitus' "Common Reason" and Philo's "Man in the image of God" that the outer self of

any man or woman is only a reflection or shadow and, strictly speaking, only the temporary mortal vehicle. *Anima* in any case is a poor word for the higher principle, since this is really the name of the carnal or animal "soul" (*nefeš*, *bhūtātman*), while the immanent Daimon (Yakṣa) who is the Guide or Duke (*hēgemōn*, *neti*) of the soul is the "Spirit" (*ruah*, *paramātman*). Symbols (*ūpa*, *silpa*) are properly speaking "supports of contemplation" (*dhiyālamba*); and their use (*prayojana*) in the case of those for whom they are symbols and not merely "art forms" is "to open the doors of the spiritual world and to enable the Spirit to pervade both body and soul" (W. Andræ, *Die ionische Säule, Bauform oder Symbol*, 1933, p. 67),—although, as Andræ also says, "they have been more and more emptied of their content on their way down to us".

The second part of the book is an extensive, although not exhaustive, exposition of the meaning of the Hare in the world's mythologies. I am surprised and delighted to find it boldly stated in an "Introductory" (p. 105) that "it is a truism that no symbol has ever been invented; that is to say that no one has ever successfully 'thought out' a symbol and used it to express a truth. Such artificial efforts are doomed to failure, and never succeed in drawing to themselves the power of real symbols, since they are no more than similes based on a mental process that never touches the depths of human personality. Such are the 'didactic' similes we know so well and react against so wisely. True symbols, on the other hand, are those that leap to mind without conscious effort". In other words, they are "given" or "revealed", and neither "conventional" nor, indeed, unconventional. The traditional symbols are, in fact, the technical terms of the *Philosophia Perennis*, and they form the vocabulary and idiom of a common universe of discourse: one from which, and so from all real understanding of myths, whoever is no longer able to use these "figures of thought" or, like the modern "symbolists", only resorts to analogies based on private associations of ideas, is automatically excluded. Dr. Layard's position is like that of the Assyriologist Walter Andræ, "He who find it marvellous that the shapes of symbols not only persist for millennia, but even, as will yet be seen, come to life

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again after an interruption lasting for thousands of years, should say to himself that the power that proceeds from the spiritual world and that forms one part of the symbol, is eternal.....It is the spiritual power that here knows and wills, and reveals itself when its time comes" (*Die ionische Säule, Bauform oder Symbol*¹, 1933, p. 66).

Had Dr. Layard known Karl von Spiess' important work on "Die Hasenjagd" published in *Marksteine der Volkskunst*, i.e. the *Jahrbuch für historische Volkskunde*, V, VI Bd., 1937, pp. 243-267, he might have penetrated even more deeply than he has the significance of the Hare. More especially in connection with the contraries, or pairs of opposites, which he discusses on pages 46 to 69 and alludes to elsewhere. For the symbolism of the Hare is very closely connected with that of Symplegades, an archetypal motive of world-wide distribution and notably American, Celtic and Indian as well as Greek. It has long been recognised that the Symplegades, or "Clashing Rocks", are the jambs of the Janua Coeli, the Sundoor and World-door of the *Chāndogya* (VIII. 6, 5, 6) and *Maitri* (VI. 30) *Upaniṣads*, where these Gates are an entrance for the wise but a barrier to the foolish. In the words of Karl von Spiess, "Beyond the Clapping Rocks, in the Other-world, is the Wonder of Beauty, the Plant and the Water of life", and in those of Whitman, "All waits undreamed of in that region, that inaccessible Land" a Land from which there is "no return" by any necessity or operation of mediate causes (*anāṅkē, karma*) but only as "Movers-at-will" (*kāmacārin*).

The jambs of the door, which are also the self-operating, automatic Jaws of Death, are the pairs of the opposites, or contraries (*enantia, dvandva*) to which our likes attract us or from which our dislikes repel us and from the tyranny of which the pilgrim seeks to escape (*dvandvair vimuktāḥ sukhaduḥkhair-saṁjñair gacchanti padam avyayam, Bhagavad Gītā XV. 5*). It is of these contraries, as Nicolas of Cusa says, that the wall of Paradise is built; whoever would enter must pass by the doorway of the highest spirit of reason ("I am the door of the sheep; by me..."), that is to say between the Clashing Rocks, for in the words of an Upaniṣad, "there is no side-door here in the world."

This is also why so many rites are performed at dawn or dusk "when it is neither night nor day," and with means that are non-descript, for example "neither wet nor dry." It is, in fact, from this point of view alone that it can be understood why the Indian word for theosis, deification (*brahma-bhūti*, literally "becoming Brahma"; in Buddhism, synonymous with the attainment of Buddhahood, the state of the "Wide-awake") is also a denotation of twilight (*samādhi*, literally "synthesis," or state of being "in *samādhi*"). The danger of being crushed by the contraries, again is the reason of carrying the bride across the threshold of the new home, the Bridegroom corresponding to the Psychopomp who carries the soul across the threshold of the other world where both are to "live happily ever after". The way is "strait" indeed just because the contraries "clash," making immediate and incessant contact. For example if we consider the contraries past and future, the way lies evidently through the eternal now without duration, a moment of which empirical experience is impossible and that gives us *no time* in which to get by; or using spatial symbols, the way lies through the undimensioned point that separates every here from there, and that leaves us *no room* through which to pass; or if the terms are ethical, then the way is one that demands a spontaneity and innocence transcending the "knowledge of good and evil" and that cannot be defined in the terms of the values of virtue and vice that apply to all human behaviour. Thus he alone is qualified to pass through the midst of the Sun "who is virtually already past; logically and humanly speaking the way is an impasse; and it is no wonder that all traditions speak of a Way-god, Door-god and Psychopomp who leads the way and opens the door for those who are willing to follow.

In all the stories of that the folklorists term the "Active Door", whether Eskimo, Celtic or Greek, we find that a part, the *hinder* part, or appendage, of the person or vehicle, ship or horse in which the journey is made, is cut off and left behind. Thus, in the case of the Irish heroes, the portcullis of the Otherworld Castle falls so swiftly that it cuts the clothing and spurs from the rider's back and feet and halves his horse, of which the hinder part is lost; and since the way in is to what is both Immortal and Unknown, it

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is clear that what is cut off is the entrant's mortal part, the known self or personality that never was, because it was for ever changing and had never known a now or escaped from the logical net of the polar alternatives.

Dr. Layard rightly emphasises that the Hare is a sacrificial animal and typically meets a fiery death, of which he cites the Bodhisattva's leap into the fire as a pertinent example; and, in fact, the passage of the Sundoor is, like the ritual Sacrificer's symbolic self-immolation, an ordeal by fire in some sense "all resurrection is from ashes." If, as it seems, there is some slight foundation in actual fact for the fiery self-immolation of Hares (pp. 105, 106), this is only another illustration of what Philo calls the "laws of analogy," the exegetical principle that anagogic meanings are contained in, and not "read into," the literal sense.

The Hare is one of the many types of the Grail winner or Hero of the Life-quest, and its proper association with Soma and the Food of Immortality is admirably illustrated in the Tang mirror of Dr. Layard's Fig. 6, "showing the Hare pounding the Herb of Immortality in the Moon." The Dog, on the other hand, is one of the many types of the Defender of the Tree or Plant of Life. The drama is enacted every day when the farmer's dog chases the hare that has come through a gap in the fence to steal his cabbages or lettuces, just as it is in other terms when the farmer himself with his bow and arrow or gun protects his orchard against predatory birds; it is only, indeed by means of such homely parables as these that spiritual truths can be expressed. All expression is really figurative; except for the æsthetic, the figures are figures of thought and by no means meaningless tropes, and the same holds good for such dreams and visions as are significant; to ignore the content and consider only the æsthetic surfaces of any of these pictures is to "add to the sum of our mortality." The figures are Janus-faced, and whoever looks at only one of their faces, overlooking that in the symbol there subsists a "polar balance of physical and metaphysical" is living a one-sided life, not altogether human but by "bread alone", "the husks that the swine did eat". The senses referred to above underlie also the "decorative," that is to say "appropriate" motive of the hunted

Hare in art,¹ and even the still surviving sport of Hare and Hounds and the Paper-chase, although here, just as in the case of other traditional ornaments and sports the sense has been forgotten and only the amusement or exercise remains; which is a part of what some philosophers intend when they speak of the modern world as one of "impoverished reality". Like all other symbols, the sense of the Hare depends in part on the context: but in the sense that the Hare, like Christ and like the soul that "puts itself to death" is at once a willing Sacrifice and the winner of the Quest of Life, the meaning of the symbolism can hardly be better stated than in the words of Karl von Spiess: "This is the situation, *viz.* that the Hare has run into an other world to fetch something.—the Plant of Immortality. Thereupon the guardian Dog, pursuing the Hare, is hard upon it. But just where both worlds meet, and where the Dog's domain ends, it is only able to bite off the Hare's tail, so that the Hare returns to its own world docked. In this case the Dog's jaws are the 'Clapping Rocks'. This story of the Hare is usually told in the form of an aitiological myth explaining the reason of its stumpy tail."

Many other fascinating problems are either touched upon, or in some cases neglected, by the author. Here I shall only refer very briefly to two of these. The story of the Hare (p. 161) taken from African (Banyanja) sources is a particularly interesting version of the "rope-trick" which, as elsewhere, can only be understood in terms of the widely-distributed "thread-spirit" (*sūtrātman*)² doctrine, according to which all things under the Sun are and remain connected with him as their source, or otherwise would be scattered and lost like the beads of a necklace when the string is broken; it is by way of this luminous pneumatic thread or golden chain that as if by a ladder that the spirit returns to its proper home when the burden of material attachments has been discarded. In the African story the Man plays the part of the Dog; the opposition is of reason to intuition. Comparison

1. Compare E. Pottier, "L'Histoire d'une bête", *Rev. de l'art ancien et moderne* XXVII, 1910, pp. 419-436.

2. For a short account of this doctrine see my "Iconography of Dürer's 'Knoten', and Leonardo's 'Concatenation' in the *Art Quarterly* VII, 1944. In fig. 10 the three hares represent the Christian Trinity.

may be made with the Irish version of the Rope-trick as performed by Manannan mac Lir, the master magician and trickster who in Celtic mythology corresponds to Indra who by his jugglery (*indrajāla*) as it were "pulls this world out of his hat". Manannan in the story of the Gilla Decair or O'Donnel's Kern³ casts up his thread, which attaches itself to a cloud in the air, and produced a Hare and a Hound from his bag of tricks; the Hare runs up the thread and the Hound pursues it: when the magician pulls down the thread again, the Hound is picking the Hare's bones. From Dr. Layard's point of view this would represent the destruction of intuition by logic, as in the case of the slaughter of the Hare's mother by the man in the African version.

In another Irish story⁴ that would have interested Dr. Layard, one O'Cronagan stabs a Hare and slips a pair of his bounds after it: the Hare doubles, and when the bounds are close upon it it jumps into O'Cronagan's lap with a cry of "Sanctuary!", at the same time turning into a beautiful young woman; she takes him home with her into a *sidh* which is as much as to say that she is really a fairy. Thereafter she returns with O'Cronagan to the world and lives with him as his wife, and he prospers greatly; his former and human wife has disappeared. Dr. Layard is undoubtedly right in regarding the Hare as an essentially feminine principle, and perhaps the surviving emblem of a Goddess (Fig. 14) of Dawn and Fertility or Love, alike in the literal and the spiritual senses of the forms; and the Dog as essentially masculine (pp. 176, 186, 197). This is supported not only by the transformations of women (amongst others, witches, who may have been originally priestesses and healers whose rites degenerated only when they fell from grace in the same way that the Gods of an older religion become the Devils

3. In Standish Hayes O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* II, London, 1892, p. 321. In another version published in J. P. Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, Paisley and London 1899, I pp. 303, 304 the "rope" is a ladder set up against the Moon; the magician cuts off the Hound's head, but restores it at the Earl's request, and this is a lesson to it, never to touch a Hare again. In both versions there are also a Boy and a Girl who are apparently doublets of the Hound and Hare.

In the Indian versions (*Jataka* IV. 324) the magician himself climbs the rope and is slain, but restored to life by his companions, who sprinkle him with the Water of Life.

4. Standish Hayes O'Grady, reference Note 3, pp. 333, 334,

of one that supersedes it) into Hares,⁵ but even more by the fact that it is the Hare that fetches or prepares the Water of Life. Nor to prepare and offer the Elixir by which the God or Hero is enthused is always a feminine function; as in *R̥gveda* VIII. 91 where Apālā prepares Soma for Indra by chewing (as Kava is prepared by women in the South Sea Islands) and is to be equated with "Faith, the daughter (and bride) of the Sun" to whose power is attributed in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XII. 7. 3.11) the transubstantiation of the ritual substitutes for the true Elixir than none on earth partakes of. That the Hare is "a symbol of the Repentant Sinner" (p. 205) is significant in the same connection; for the self or soul is always feminine and, as I have shown in a paper on self-sacrifice⁶ her sensitive powers can be equated with the Soma-shoots from which the true Elixir is strained in order that it may be daily offered up on the fire-altar of the heart. Nor will it be overlooked that Wisdom, Hochma, Sophia, *Māyā*, *Natura naturans*, the Mother of God and of all living is a "woman"; and the mysterious problem of "Easter Eggs" may be related to that of Leda and her impregnation by Zeus in the form of a swan. All these considerations go far to explain at the same time the Hare's elusive and truly feminine ambiguity: the soul may be our most dangerous enemy or dearest friend: "he that would save it, let him lose it, that is sacrifice it."

I have only one specific criticism to offer. Dr. Layard rightly connects German *Hasen* and English "hare" with Sanskrit *śaśa*, literally the "leaper". But he also tries to connect Greek *lagos* with Sanskrit *laṅgh*, to "leap" (and so with *laghu*, "light"). This seems to be impossible: because for any cognate of *laṅgh* one would expect in Greek the presence of *chi* rather than *gamma*. The proper connection of *lagos* is with *√lag*, "adhere", "cling", "olasp", the implication being erotic.

The materials available, of which Dr. Layard has collected so much, is inexhaustible. But perhaps I have said enough to show that, as Professor Mircea Eliade (of Bucarest and who, I am glad

5. Transformations of men are more often into (wer-) wolves, a sort of dogs.
6. "Ātma-yajña. Self-sacrifice". *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 6. 1942. pp. 358-398.

to learn, has survived the war) has so well said "the memory of the people preserves above all those symbols which refer to 'theories', even when these theories are no longer understood", and to show that these symbols, which the psycho-analyst is rediscovering, can be not only understood but made effective use of in that work of the healing of souls to which the traditional philosophies have always been directed.

ADDENDUM

Since the above was written, I have collected the following material:

The connections of the Hare with the Moon and the Dog are notably stated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI. 1.5.1, 2. "The Moon is that celestial Dog; he overlooks (with an evil eye) the sacrificer's cattle, and that is to their hurt, unless an expiation (*prāyaścitta*) be made. That is why men fear the moon's down-shining, and slip away into the shade. So they call that fever (*upatapat*, caused by the moonstroke) a 'being bitten by the Dog' (*śvālucitam*), and this [here probably deictically, making an appropriate gesture], the 'Hare in the Moon'—after which [the Moon is *śaśāṅka*, 'Hare-marked.' The Moon is verily Soma the (ambrosial) food of the Gods." Another reference to the "Hare in the Moon" occurs in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*⁷. Here the Hare is *śaśa* inasmuch as it 'instructs' *śāsti*—all this world; and Yama, Death, is [the Man] "in the Moon" who "restrains": *yamati*—all things, and he is called the "Eater"—*atsyan*, more literally, "he who intends to eat," no doubt with reference to the Hare as his prospective food: only when he has been "pacified"—*śamayitvā*—by sacrificial-offerings does it [the Hare] "win the life-sap (*ūrjān*, 'urge' or activating enrgy) of the worlds;" and the Comprehensor of this doctrine who offers the Agnihotra—sacrifice, ritually of a victim and subjectively of self to Fire—rises, unto companionship in their world with the Gods and Yama.

A story of Hares and the Moon is related in the *Pañcatantra*. A heard of elephants resorts to the cool waters of the Moonlake, but in their coming and going cause the death of many hares

7. Caland, W. *Das Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl*, Amsterdam Johannes Müller (1919); pp. 13 and 14.

living on its shores. The Hare king Stone-face accepts the proposal of the Hare "Victory". The latter, pretending to be the ambassador of My Lord the Moon, persuades the Elephant-king that he has annoyed the Moon, after which the elephants withdraw and leave the lake in peace. In the same collection there occurs the story of the Hare and the Lion: the latter has been destroying all the animals recklessly; until an agreement is made that he shall be given one creature daily for his food, chosen by lot. When the time comes for a Hare to be given, the latter devises a stratagem. The Hare arrives late and explains that he has been delayed by another Lion. The Lion-king is infuriated, and proposes to destroy his rival. The Hare conducts him to a well of clear water, at the bottom of which the Lion-king sees his own reflection, and supposes that this is his rival; he leaps at the reflection, and is drowned. Thus the Hare saves both himself and all the other forest-dwelling creatures⁸.

These two stories are again related, and interpreted, by Jalālu'd-Din Rumi in the *Mathnawī*. In the first case Rumi takes the Elephant to be the type of the timid soul, and the Hare as a deceiver who prevents the soul from obtaining the Water of Life; even so, it is noteworthy that there is still preserved the close connection of the Hare with the Moon and with the Water of Life. In the second case the Hare is the type of the rational soul proceeding with deliberation and foresight, and triumphing over death, represented by the Lion as the type of the carnal soul. In annotation, Nicholson quotes Damiri, who says that the Hare "sleeps with its eyes open"⁹.

In *Jātaka* IV. 84 a king has two sons, and is distracted by grief when one dies. To cure him of this excessive grief the other son feigns madness, and goes about the city demanding a hare. He refuses all those that are offered to him, saying "I crāve no hare of earthly kind, but only the Hare in the Moon". This is an expression for the impossible, or unattainable, like our modern "crying for the moon". To avoid the incidence of death

8. Fr. Edgerton, *The Panchatantra Reconstructed* 2, AOS. 3, 1924, pp. 365 f. and 296 f.

9. *Mathnawī* III. 2738 f. and I. 997 f., with 1374, 1375 and Nicholson's notes.

is equally impossible; and as usual, the bereaved king is consoled by his consequent realisation of the universality and inevitability of such losses as have befallen him.

In the *Dhammapada*, 3+2, we have the simile of the Hare caught in a trap:—

Men foregone by fear and longing wriggle this way and that like a hare ensnared;

Held by the bonds of their attachments, again and again they undergo long miseries.

The moral is obvious; avoid the snare.

A design of three rabbits having in all only three ears (so that each of the two ears of any one forms one of the ears of another) represents the Christian Trinity¹⁰.

The connection of the Hare, as a Promethean symbol, with fire—discussed by Dr. Layard, *p.* 193—makes her a dangerous animal, and this is well illustrated by the *Atharva Veda* V. 17.4: “the misfortune that falls upon the village, of which they say ‘It is a comet’ [literally, star with streaming hair] as such, the Brahman’s wife burns up the kingdom wherein the Hare bath come forth together with meteors”. I do not know why Whitney queries *śaśa* here—probably because of his notable ignorance of the traditional symbolism; but he says rightly that “such apparent portents are really the woman, that has been misused”. That the “woman” in this case is the Sacerdotal “Word” (*vāc*, *vox*) usurped by the Regnum makes no difference in principle. In another AV passage, IV. 3.6, we find the expression “Down with the *śaśayū!*” and this, in a context of spells directed against tigers and other wild animals, may mean “chaser of hares”, perhaps a wild dog.

There are some excellent illustrations of the Hare or Rabbit escaping from the jaws of a monster, Chinese and Mexican, in G. Hentze’s *Sakralbronzen und ihre Bedeutung in den frühchinesischen Kulturen*, Antwerp 1941, Tafelband I. Abb. 234 and II Abb. 51 and 53, Textband pp. 73, 139. Hentze equates the Hare with the young Moon itself; i.e. with the Soma that it carries off. Where the Hare is not merely *in*, but identified with the Moon, the dragon would be Rāhu.

In South America, the enemy of the Moon is frequently not a snake but a Jaguar. Thus in A. Métraux, *Myths of the Tobá and Pilaga Indians of the Gran Chaco* (Am. Folklore Society, Philadelphia, 1946, p. 19), the Jaguar is the spirit of death and foe of the Moon, (and p. 109), the Jaguar is the original owner of Fire, and the Rabbit successfully steals it.

A. K. C.

10. E. P. Evans, *animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical architecture*, New York 1896, p. 329: cf note 2, *abovc*.

HEBBAṬA GRANT OF DURVINĪTA GANGA

(Continued from Vol XXXVI. No. 3. Page 133.)

II

By S. ŚRIKĀNṬHA ŚĀSTRĪ, M.A.

HISTORICAL NOTE: GANGA RECORDS

THIS copper-plate grant appears to have been issued by Ganga Durvinita after his thirty-first regnal year and registers the donation of lands and houses in Puḍōḷi Viṣaya. The connected records are:

S'ringēri C. P. of Avinita; 2nd year (*M.A.R.* 1916. p. 34.). Mercara C.P. of Avinita; S. 388. (*E.C.* VII. Cg. 1. *I.A.* I. p. 363; *V.* p. 136). Koḍanjervu C.P. of Avinita; 25th year (*M.A.R.* 1924. p. 67. No. 78). Mallōhaḷḷi C.P. of Avinita; 29th year (*E.C.* IX. Db. 68. *I.A.* V. p. 134). Mālur (Nonamangala) C.P. of Avinita; 1st year (?) (*E.C.* X. Mr. 72). Bangalore Museum C.P. of Durvinita; 3rd year (*E.C.* IX Bn. 141). Bisanahaḷḷi C.P. of Durvinita; 4th year (*M.A.R.* 1942. No. 31). Kaḍagattur C.P. of Durvinita; 4th year. (*E.C.* XII. Maddagiri. 110). Uttanur C.P. of Durvinita; 20th year (*M.A.R.* 1916, para 64; 1917, para 75-76). Hebbāṭa C.P. of Durvinita; 31st year--the present record. Mallōhaḷḷi C.P. of Durvinita; 35th year (*I.A.* V. p. 138). Sāliggāme C.P. of Durvinita; 39th year (*M.A.R.* 1941. No. 1). Gummaredḍi Pura C.P. of Durvinita; 40th year (*M.A.R.* 1912. para 65-69). Nallāl C.P. of Durvinita; 40th year (*M.A.R.* 1924. No. 79). Sirigunda Inscription of Nirvinita; (*E.C.* V. Cm. 50). Tagare C.P. of Polavira; (*M.A.R.* 1918). Hebbāṭa C.P. of Kādamba Viṣṇuvarma; (*M.A.R.* 1925. No. 118). Hebbāṭa Stone Inscription of S'ripuruṣa; (*M.A.R.* 1917. p. 31). Dummaya Grant of Ravivarma; (*M.A.R.* 1943, p. 48). Kūḍalūr Grant of Mādhava; (*M.A.R.* 1930; No. 88). Keregalur Grant of Mādhava; (*M.A.R.* 1930; No. 3). S'āsana-kōṭā C.P. of Mādhava; (*M.A.R.* 1938. C.P. 4; *E.I.* XXIV). Peñukōṇḍa C.P. of Mādhava; (*J.R.A.S.* 1915). Chūkuṭṭur C.P. of Simhavarma; (*M.A.R.* 1925).

The controversy between Lewis Rice and J. F. Fleet regarding the genuineness of the early Ganga grants has ended so far as the historicity of the early Ganga kings is concerned by the discovery of genuine copper plate and stone inscriptions. Some of

the grants are clearly of later date than that to which they profess to belong. Such records are :

Kūḍalūr C.P. of Harivarma (*M.A.R.* 1921). Tanjore C.P. of Arivarma (*I.A.* VIII. p. 212). Tagare C.P. of Taḍaṅgāla (*E.C.* III; *E.I.* III. IV). Harihara C.P. of Viṣṇugōpa. (*I.A.* VII. S'. 272). British Museum C.P. of Mekkara (*E.I.* III, p. 159). Hallegere C.P. of Ś'ivamāra (*E.C.* III. p. 107). Jāvali C.P. of Ś'ripuruṣa (*E.C.* VI. Mg. 36). Dēvarahaḷli C.P. of Ś'ripuruṣa (*E.C.* IV. Ng. 85. *I.A.* II. p. 156). Nāgamangla C.P. of Ś'ripuruṣa (*E.I.* III. p. 163). Kalbhāvi Inscription (*I.A.* XVIII. p. 311. *I.A.* XXIV. p. 191). Gaḷigekere C.P. of Raṇa Vikramayya (*E.C.* IV. p. 109). British Museum C.P. of Eṇṇeganga (*I.A.* XIV. p. 230). Sūdi C.P. of Būtuga. (*E.I.* III. p. 176). Lakṣmēśvar Inscription of Mārasimha (*I.A.* VII p. 104).

These grants were considered spurious on the ground of bad orthography, palæography, chronology, long reigns assigned to some kings, suspicious forms of the names of the witnesses and engravers and lack of corroborative evidence.

Fleet who had dismissed all the kings earlier than Ś'ripuruṣa (788 A.D.) as mythical later acknowledged the existence of the Paṇḍi Branch on the basis of the Penukonda plates (C. 475 A.D.). Since then many other copper-plates and stone inscriptions have come to light and made it clear that the early kings are historical. Such grants are :

S'āsanakōṭa C.P. of Mādhava (C. 425 A.D. *M.E.R.* 1938 C.P. 4): Keregaḷūr C.P. of Mādhava (*M.A.R.* 1930. No. 3). Kūḍalūr C.P. of Mādhava (*M.A.R.* 1930. No. 88). Cūkuṭṭūr C.P. of Simhavarma (*M.A.R.* 1924). Koḍanjeruvu C.P. Avinīta (*M.A.R.* 1924). Nallāla grant of Durvinīta (*M.A.R.* 1924). Uttanūr grant of Durvinīta (*M.A.R.* 1917, p. 37). Kallur Inscription of Ś'ri Vikrama (*M.A.R.* 1917, para 77). Dēvarahaḷli stone inscription of Durvinīta Eṇṇeyappa (*M.A.R.* 1930 No. 36).

PALÆOGRAPHY

All these have been acknowledged as genuine by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhāchār, Dr. R. Shama Ś'āstry and Dr. M. H. Krishṇā. Fleet's palæographical tests were mainly in respect of the letters

ja, ba, la, ka, ncha, na, ta, kha, ya and *ra*. The Harihara grant of Viṣṇugōpa, dated S'. 271¹ was condemned for its modern Nāgari or Bālabōdha forms of *ka, pa, ya* and *ma*. The Mallohaḷḷi grant of Avinīta was also declared spurious and its late origin could not be doubted for a moment². The Mercara grant of Avinīta accepted as genuine by Burnell³ was declared spurious by Fleet. "On closer inspection, it is definitely betrayed by a character which furnishes a leading test in dealing with southern records. The later *kha* occurs in it six times.....and in each case the form used is the later or cursive form..... As a matter of fact this later form of *kha* is carried back to the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarṣa I; for, though only the earlier form appears in the Sirur inscription of the king, dated in 866 A.D. the later form,—and it only,—appears in an inscription of the same king dated in 865 A.D. near Bankāpur. But it does not at all seem possible that it can be carried back to before 804 A.D. for, the older form, only is used in the Kanarese grant of Govinda III, the predecessor of Amōghavarṣa, dated in that year⁴; and the same form, the older one only, is used and occurs in the record of the next earlier date in the same class of characters viz. the Vakkalōri grant of the Western Cālukya king Kirtivarman II dated 757 A.D.⁵ Thus we arrive at the beginning of the ninth century A.D. as the earliest possible period for the concoction of the record"⁶.

Regarding the Mallohaḷḷi grant of Durvinīta "the form of *ba* used in it is the later one. Like the late form of *kha* and by precisely the same records, the later form of *ba* is carried back to the time of Amōghavarṣa I. In the Sirūr inscription there is only the older form and in the Mantravāḍi inscription of 865 A.D. the later form. In the Nidaguṇḍi inscription both occur. The British Museum grants aim at producing the old type of characters throughout, including even the *kha* and *ba*. But the execution of them is very indifferent all through, and with the very marked

1. *E. I. II*, p. 162.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *South Indian Palaeography*, pp. 34-35.

4. *I.A.* XI, P. 126.

5. *I.A.* VIII, P. 23.

6. *B.I.* III, P. 162.

corruptness of the orthography and displacings of the portions and the texts.....it proves beyond possibility of doubt the spurious nature of the record and the late origin of it". Fleet declared emphatically "Nothing will ever be obtained to establish the dates of A.D. 248 and 466 for Harivarman and Avinita Kongani... It is not necessary to waste any time on the alleged names before S'ivamāra I because they are all fictions" ⁷.

It is unnecessary to enter into discussion on the palæographical arguments of Fleet since he acknowledged the authenticity of the Penukoṇḍa plates. Even then Fleet was not prepared to accept the genealogy of the early rulers of Talakād, holding that the Paṇuvi rulers were the genuine Gangas. "But they cannot both be authentic. This new record however impresses itself on us as a genuine one. And we therefore adopt its account of the pedigree and find here still another reason and one which ought to be in itself sufficient for condemning such other records of this series as are not betrayed at once by their characters or other features" ⁸.

But since then the discovery of another record of the same Paṇuvi Mādhava at Niṭṭūr ⁹, the Chūkuṭṭūr grant of Simhavarman ¹⁰ the Beṇḍigānahalli plates ¹¹ and the Keregaḷūr grant of Mādhava II ¹² all in the same characters, along with the S'āsanakōṭa grant of Mādhava ¹³ and Kuḍitiyam grant ¹⁴ have placed beyond doubt the historicity of the Talakād branch. The test letters *bha*, *kha*, *ja*, *ra* and *ka* with uncompleted loops; indicating the *anusvāra* by a dot over the letter; the reduplication of consonants some times indicated by a dot to the left of the letter (an archaic feature—cf. Keregaḷūr C.P. I. 5. *Vṛ. tēh* for *Vṛttēh*): writing the *upadhmāniya* without the *rēpha* in the Keregaḷūr grant though it is found in some other grants of about the same period, clearly establish the genuineness of these grants.

7. *B.I.* VI, P. 60.

8. *J.R.A.S.* 1915, P. 472.

9. *M.A.R.* 1930, No. 88.

10. *Ibid.* 1924, No. 81.

11. *Ibid.* 1914-15, Pl. 18.

12. *Ibid.* 1930, No. 3.

13. *M.E.R.* 1938, C.P. 4; *E.J.* XXIV, P. 234.

14. *M.A.R.* 1932, P. 124.

ORTHOGRAPHY

Regarding the orthographical mistakes these may be due to the ignorance of the engraver though he sometimes made attempts to correct the more glaring ones. Such mistakes in moderation are not sufficient to condemn a grant.

CHRONOLOGY

The chronological argument is also not decisive. Fleet admitted that there were genuine grants which did not yield correct dates but which could not be condemned on that ground but he asserted that though this point might be placed last, when in the present series every date was wrong, it was one of considerable importance.

As a matter of fact apart from the palæographic tests, some of these early grants can be approximately reconciled, if we apply the same tests as are applied by Kielhorn to the dates of the Cālukya Vikrama Era, etc. allowing for slight differences¹⁵. According to Kielhorn the earliest correct *nakṣatra* is found in S'. 851 expired; Yōgas, and *nakṣatras* in S'. 1063; Yōgas in S'. 1121, Karaṇas in Java, S'. 782¹⁶, and the earliest use of the term *lagna* in the Eastern Cālukya inscription of S'. 867, expired. Among the solar eclipses, seven mentioned did not take place (S'. 922; 1106, 1174, 1478 and spurious S'. 451, S' 532, S'. 872). Some grants mention eclipses which could not have been visible in India e.g. of S'. 417, 534, 716, 730. Among lunar eclipses nine that did not occur are mentioned (S'. 684, 730, 872, 1084, 1276, 1080, 1103, 1185). The term *Sankrānti* is employed not for the particular day when it occurred but any where in Uttarāyana or Dakṣiṇāyana. The week days are mentioned frequently only from about the seventh century and many times wrongly.

In late Kannada inscriptions *Valḍavāra* is used to denote Tuesday, Saturday or Thursday. Sometimes *Sōmavāra* (Monday) is used for *Saumyavāra* (Wednesday). Regarding the months in the early inscriptions Tamil names are used (*Panguṇi* for *Phālguna* or *Caitra* as in the present grant). The Jovian cyclic years may

15. I.A. XXII. P. 110. A. Venkata Subbayya: *Some S'aka dates in Inscriptions.*

16. *Ibid.* XXIII. P. 114.

begin with Prabhava as in South India at present or with Vijaya as in the North.

Amongst other peculiarities we may note that some times the *nakṣatra* in which the moon happens to be at sunrise and a considerable portion of the day on which the moon enters shortly after sunrise is mentioned. The solar months and therefore the solar years mostly do not give the solar day. "It would seem to show that at least in South India the solar reckoning notwithstanding, the nominal use of the solar month is of little importance." Further, the intercalary month is not distinguished as *adhika* or *mala* from *nija*, e.g. S'. 855 expired *Śrāvaṇa*; S'. 1113 expired *Jyēsthā* are the second and in S'. 1189 *Jyēsthā* and S'. 1332 *Bhādrapada* the first¹⁷. In South India mostly *Pūrṇimānta* months were employed; e.g. Talamanchi grant of Vikramāditya I. S'. 582 (*Pūrṇimānta*), *Śrāvaṇa* Ba. 15. Solar eclipse (660 A.D. July 13. Solar Eclipse). But from the eighth century *amānta* months are also employed, the *tithis* are joined with the days of their commencement and not with their ending and *Kalpādi* is connected with the day of the *tithi*'s commencement when the *tithi* falls on two days, e.g. S'. 950. *Pancami*, Monday and S'. 1307, *Dvitiya*, Friday when the particular *tithis* commenced before the beginning of the week-day mentioned and ended after it.

Regarding the Jovian years "the use of it would seem to be even more common in the South than that of the S'aka Era itself." Beginning with S'. 855 the system can only be Southern luni-solar years, the name of the Jovian year is sometimes merely a name for a certain solar¹⁸ or a luni-solar year. Before S'. 855 the use of the mean-sign system being current, Kielhorn concluded that the system which was followed was the one called the Northern luni-solar system¹⁹. However S'. 838 expired can be connected with the given Jovian year *Dhātṛ* only by the Southern luni-solar system. If we take S'. 838 as current the Northern system would also apply but it is probably expired as it is generally. "This date would thus in my opinion furnish the earliest certain instance for the use of the Southern luni-solar system".

17. I.A. XXII. pp. 114, 125, 164.

18. e.g. No 138. I.A. XXIV, p. 4.

19. I.A. XXV. P. 269.

Kielhorn has also pointed out that the words *atīta*, *gata* are used with current years also. *Vartamāna* undoubtedly qualifies expired years. Down to S'. 1000, the rule was to quote the S'aka years as expired and current years till then were quoted very exceptionally indeed. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the ratio of the current years to the expired years is as 3 to 5 or even as 3 to 4. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the current years are again quoted less frequently and during the last four centuries the earlier practice of quoting expired years has been established. As regards *Sankrānti*, there is no instance of a tropical *Sankrānti*. *Uttarāyaṇa Sankrānti* is connected with the wrong month (S'. 1483. *Caitra Śu.* 5), wrong *tithis* (S'. 902, 966) or wrong week-days. Ten out of eleven incorrect week-days are named Sunday or Monday. Regarding the correct days the *Uttarāyaṇa Sankrānti* took place during the *tithi* and on the weekday the *tithi* ended or wholly occupied and sometimes on a given weekday when the *tithi* extended to two days, four to six hours before sunrise of the given week-day on which the *tithi* ended. These remarks also apply to *Dakṣiṇāyana Sankrānti* ²⁰.

In the light of these remarks it is possible to accept some of the chronological data found in early Ganga records as reliable in spite of slight differences which apart from other considerations, need not invalidate the charters.

(1) The spurious 'Tanjore grant of Arivarma ²¹ is dated S'. 169. *Prabhava Phālguna Amāvāsya, Rēvati, Vṛddhi Yōga Vṛṣabha lagna*. The date is irregular ²². "By the southern luni-solar system only can *Prabhava* be connected with S'. 169 expired (Friday) — *Pūrṇimānta Phālguna Amāvāsya*, Friday, 11th February, 248 A.D. 14 *ghaṭikas* and 15 *paḷas* after mean sunrise. But there was no *Rēvati nakṣatra* or *Vṛddhi yōga*. At sunrise the *Satatāra* and the *yōga* either *Siddha* or *Sādhya*. *Amāvāsya* of *nakṣatra Phālguna* was *Amānta* began on Saturday, 11th March, 19 hours and 32 minutes after sunrise. The use of the Southern luni-solar system of the cycle in this record is itself evidence of

20. I.A. XXIII, P. 113; XXIV; XXV; XXVI.

21. *Ibid.* VIII, P. 212.

22. *Ibid.* XXIV, P. 10.

comparatively late date ; for the mean-sign system was the one for India up to A.D. 804 ²³”.

According to Svāmikaṇṇu Pillai's ephemeris, *Phālguṇa Ba.* 15 of S'. 169 (A.D. 258) falls on Sunday (not Thursday or Friday, 12th March 248 A.D. ²⁴).

(2) The Nandi copper plate of Mādhava (I ?) merely mentions *Vaiśākha māsēkka* ²⁵.

(3) The Kandasala grant of Mādhava Varma, son of Konguṇi Varma ²⁶ mentions only the ninth regnal year and *Kārtika Su.* 12, when the grant was written by Sarvarahasyādhikṛta Sōma S'arma, the actual donation being made on the Full-moon day of *Kārtika*, later.

(4) E.C. III. Nanjangud 110 mentions Prathama Ganga as having given a grant in S'. 25. *Śubhakṛt*, *Phālguṇa Su.* 5, Saturday (*Śani*), *Rōhiṇī* and the grant was renewed by Hoysala Narasimha I in S'. 1070, *Vibhava Bhādrapada Su.* 5. *Sani* (Saturday), *Svāti*. (1148 A.D. August 21, Saturday),

(5) E.C. III. Nanjangud 199. Eṇṇa Hemmāḍi in S'. 111, *Āṅgirasā*.

(6) Spurious Rājapura copper plate of S'rīman Mādhava Mahārājādhirāja. No date ²⁷.

(7) Tagadur grant of Harivarma ²⁸. S'. 188, *Vibhava*, *Phālguṇa Su.* 10, *Guruvāra*, *Punarvasu*, (256 A.D.).

(8) Kūḍalūr copper plate of Harivarma ²⁹, dated (S'. 1). 88. *Jaya Samvatsara Mūgha*, *Amāvāsya*, *Sōmavāra*, *Svāti*, Solar eclipse, “The Tagadur plates and the present grant were issued in the same year, S'. 188, expired, (A.D. 267) though the corresponding cyclic years given in both, *Vibhava* and *Jaya* are wrong” ³⁰.

(9) Harihara Plates of Viṣṇu Gōpa ³¹. Son of Konguṇi, dated *Sagavasa Nayana giri nayana*, *Sādhārana*, *Phālguṇa*,

23. E.I. III. P. 170.

24. M.A.R. 1924. P. 16.

25. Ibid. 1913-14. P. 27.

26. Ibid. 1925. No. 115.

27. Ibid. 1919. P. 24.

28. E.C. III. Nj. 122. P. 202.

29. M.A.R. 1921. P. 7.

30. Ibid. 1918. P. 21.

31. I.A. VII. Pp. 173-4.

Purnīma, Sunday. The Tagare plates of his son Taḍaṅgāla Mādhava have the same date except the *tithi*, *Amāvāsya*.

(10) Tagare Copper plate of Taḍaṅgāla Mādhava. Date as above (S'. 272). *Sādhāraṇa*, *Phālguna*, *Paurṇīma*, Sunday "Only in the southern luni-solar system *Sādhāraṇa* is S'. 272 expired, S'. 273 current *Pūrṇimānta Phālguna Amāvāsya* (Harihara Plates) will be Monday (not Sunday) 11th February A.D. 351, 20 hours and 44 Minutes after sunrise³². *Phālguna* 30 of S'. 272 fell on Thursday (not Sunday), *Amāvāsya* 14th March 330 A.D.³³.

(11) S'āsanakōṭa Plates of Madhava I (Paṇuvi), son of Konguṇivarma who established the kingdom by his own valour³⁴, are dated in the first regnal year and assigned to C. 425. A.D. "Earliest genuine copper plate discovered so far for the Ganga family".

(12) Beṇḍigānahalli copper plate of Kṛṣṇa Varma³⁵.

(13) Kuḍittiyam Plates of Kṛṣṇa Varma³⁶, Dated 1st year. *Āśvayuja*, *Kṛṣṇa* 13. These two are earlier than the Penukoṇḍa grant.

(14) Penukoṇḍa C.P. of Mādhava.³⁷ C. 475.

(15) Keṛegaḷur C.P. of Talakāḍ Mādhava II³⁸, dated *Vaiśākha*, *Paurṇīma*.

(16) Kuḍalur (Niṭṭur) C.P. of Paṇuvi Mādhava³⁹, C. 475 A.D.

(17) Chukutṭur grant of Simha Varma⁴⁰, dated *Svajanma Nakṣatra*, *Mārgaśīrṣa Māsa*, *Kṛṣṇa Pakṣa*, *Aṣṭami*, *Citrā nakṣatra*.

(18) Mercara grant of Avinita⁴¹, dated S'. 388, *Māgha*, *Śu. 5*. Monday, *Svāti*⁴², will be not Monday but the next day Tuesday, 27th December 466. A.D.

32. *E.J.* Vol. III. P. 162.

33. *M.A.R.* 1924. P. 16.

34. *M.E.R.* 1938. C.P. 4. *E.I.* XXIV. P. 234.

35. *M.A.R.* 1915, P. 40

36. *M.A.R.* 1932, P. 124.

37. *J.R.A.S.* 1915 P. 471; *E.I.* XIV. p. 331.

38. *M.A.R.* 1930, No. 3.

39. *M.A.R.* 1930, No. 88.

40. *M.A.R.* 1924 No. 81. p. 79.

41. *I.A.* I. P. 362.

42. *I.A.* XXIV. P. 11.

(19) S'ringēri grant of Avinita, 2nd year ⁴³; *Dvitiya Samvatsara, Vaiśākha*. Śu. 5 and of the King's Br̥had Dēvi in *Pauṣa* Śu. 10. *Rōhiṇi*.

(20) Bangalore Museum grant of Avinita, 3rd year ⁴⁴. *Śrāvaṇa*.

(21) Hosakōṭe grant of Avinita ⁴⁵, 12th year. *Kārtika*, Śu. 15.

(22) Mallohalli Plates of Avinita, 29th year ⁴⁶.

(23) Koḍunjeruvu grant of Avinita ⁴⁷, year 25, *Bhādrapada* Śu. 10. Thursday *Pūrvābhādrapada* (475 + 25 = 500 A.D. M.A.R. 1924. P. 18). The date has not been verified by Dr. Shama Sastry. The date is *Adhika Bhādrapada*, Śu. 10. Thursday, August 1, 491 A.D.; therefore Avinita's coronation must have taken place in 466 A.D.

(24) Bangalore Museum grant of Durvinīta ⁴⁸.

(25) Bisanahalli grant of Durvinīta ⁴⁹ dated 4th year, *Maāhu-māsa*, Śu. 13.

(26) Kaḍagattur grant of 4th year ⁵⁰. *Māgha* Śu. Ki ? *Rōvati* (Rice 482. A.D.).

(27) Uttanūr Plates of Durvinīta ⁵¹, of the 20th year, *Kārtika Paurṇimā*, *Kartika*, *Abhiñmuhūrta*.

(28) Mallohalli grant of the year 35 of Durvinīta ⁵².

(29) Nallaḷa grant of Durvinīta, 40th year ⁵³, *Vaiśākha Prathama Pakṣa*, *Parva*, *Viśākhā*, *Brāhmī muhūrta*, Wednesday : corresponding to *Adhika Vaiśākha*, Wednesday April, 2, Lunar eclipse, 535. A.D.

(30) Gumma Redḍipura grant of Durvinīta ⁵⁴ of the 40th year.

(31) Sāliggame grant of Durvinīta Konguṇi Muttarasa (?) ⁵⁵, of year 39, *Vijaya Samvatsara* (?), *Kārtika*, Śu. *Puṣya tithi*, *Satabhiṣaja* (?) *Nakṣtra*, grant by S'ri Konguṇi Muttarasa (S'ri Paruṣa ?).

43. M.A.R. 1916. P. 34.

44. I.A. VII. P. 179.

45. M.A.R. 1938. No. 1.

46. E.I. III. P. 162.

47. M.A.R. 1924. No. 78.

48. E.C. IX. Bl. 141. I.A. VII. P. 174.

49. M.A.R. 1942. No. 31.

50. E.C. XII. M. 110.

51. M.A.R. 1916. P. 35 ; 1617. P. 30.

52. E.C. IX. Db. 68; I.A. V. P. 134.

53. M.A.R. 1924. Pp. 69-72.

54. M.A.R. 1612. P. 65-69.

55. M.A.R. 1941. No. 1

(32) Tagare Plates of Polavīra ⁵⁶. *Vaiśākha Paurṇimā*.

(33) Bedirūr grant of Bhūvikrama ⁵⁷, 25th year, S'. 556. *Caitra*, Śu. 10. *Maghā*, Thursday, (March 25, 633 A.D.)

• (34) Hallegere grant of S'ivamāra I ⁵⁸, 34th year S'. 635, (713 A.D.). *Jyēṣṭha Paurṇimā*.

(35) Kulagāṇa C.P. of S'ivamāra ⁵⁹, grant given by Pallavāla Arasar with the consent of Konguṇi Muttarasa, S'iva Kumāra, Avani Mahēndra, Pṛthvī Konguṇi Vṛddha Rāja, lord of Pānāta and Punnāṭa, the brother of S'rī Vallabha Maṇḍvinīta (? Bhū Vikrama) son of S'rī Vikrama Ghanavinīta Pṛthvī Kongaṇi Vṛddha Rāja.

(36) Jāvaḷi C.P. of S'rī Puruṣa ⁶⁰, 25th year S'. 672, *Vaiśākha*, 5. (*Su* or *Ba*). Thursday, 16th April, 250 A.D. (not Monday), according to Dr. Shama Sastri ⁶¹, correct date in the grant *Vaiśākha* Śu. 10, *Uttara*, Monday *Vṛṣabha Sankrānti* ⁶².

(37) Hosur C.P. of Śrī Puruṣa ⁶³, S'. 684, *Vaiśākha*, Śu. 15. *Sukravāra* ⁶⁴, (Thursday, March 13, 762 A.D.). *Vaiśākha* Lunar Eclipse. Friday, 24, April, 761 A.D. no eclipse ⁶⁵.

(38) Halkur stone Inscription of S'rī Puruṣa ⁶⁶, S'. 710 (A.D. 788), *Prabhava*.

(39) Dēvarahaḷḷi C.P. of S'rī Puruṣa ⁶⁷, 50th year.

(40) Manne grant of Mārasimha ⁶⁸, S'. 719, *Āṣāḍha*. Śu. 5, *Sōma* (not Monday but the previous day Sunday, 4th July, 797 A.D.).

(41) Ālūr grant of Yuvarāja Mārasimha ⁶⁹, S'. 721, *Srāvāṇa*, Śu. 15. *Sōmavāra*, Lunar eclipse, correctly corresponding to Monday, 22nd July 799 A.D.

(To be continued)

56. *M.A.R.* 1918. P. 42.

57. *M.A.R.* 1925. No. 104.

58. *E.C.* III. Md. 113. P 107

59. *M.A.R.* 1925. No. 106

60. *E.C.* VI. Mg. 36.

61. *M.A.R.* 1924. P. 16.

62. Monday, April 20, 750 A.D.

63. *E.C.* X. Gd. 47.

64. Friday, *Vaiśākha* 15. S'. 684 ex = 13th April. 762 A.D. No eclipse.

65. *I.A.* XXIV. P. 11.

66. *M.A.R.* 1918. P. 42.

67. *E.C.* IV. P. 233, *I.A.* II. P. 156.

68. *E.C.* IX. Nl. 60.

69. *M.A.R.* 1924, No. 80.

ETHNOLOGY FOR INDIA

BY INDU BHUSHAN GHATAK, B.A., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from Vol. XXXVI, Page 221)

CHHOTA-NAGPUR

THE Santals as a tribe care little for permanent homes. They are not true nomads but they like to be on the move. In the lowlands they are agriculturists and in the jungles and mountains they are skilful hunters, bows and arrows being their chief weapons. On the highlands they are cattle-breeders. They like comfort and their villages are neat, clean and well-built usually in an isolated position. Their social arrangements are patriarchal. In every village there is a headman. A deputy looks after details. A special officer is in charge of children's morals. There is a watch-man.

Physically they are not prepossessing. The face is round blubbery, the cheek-bones moderately prominent, eyes full and straight, nose broad and depressed, mouth large and lips flat, hair straight, black and coarse. The general appearance approximates to the Negroid type. They are somewhat below the average height of the Hindus. They are divided into twelve clans. In character they are a bright, joy-loving people, hospitable and seizing every chance of a fear. They have neither the sullen disposition nor the unconquerable laziness of the very old hill tribes of the Central India. They have carried with them from the plains a love of order, a genial humanity with a certain degree of civilisation and agricultural habits. Their very vices are the vices of an oppressed and driven out people. Each village has its own priest who has lands assigned to him. Out of the profits he must feast the people twice a year.

The Santals have many gods whose attributes are ill-defined but whose festivals are strictly observed. *Marang Baru*, the great spirit, is the deity to whom sacrifices are made. Among some

Santals in Chhota-nagpur *Sing Bonga*, the Sun, is the supreme deity to whom sacrifices are made. Countless demons and evil spirits are propitiated and ancestors are worshipped. There is a vague idea of a future life where the spirits of the dead are employed in ceaseless toil of grinding the bones of the past generations. For a Santal to be sworn on a tiger skin is the main solemn of oaths. The Santals are omnivorous, but they will not touch rice cooked by a Hindu. Santal parents undergo purification five days after child-birth. Santals have adopted as a right the tonsure of children. Child marriage is not practised and young people make love-matches. A man has seldom more than one wife and she is always treated kindly. An open space in front of the headman's house is set apart for dancing which is very elaborate and excellent. The flute is the chief Santal instrument. The Santals burn their dead and carry the charred bones to the river Damodar.

The Santal women are slow and graceful in dance. Joining hands they form themselves into the arc of a circle towards the centre of which they advance and then retreat moving at the same time slightly towards the right so as to complete the circle in an hour. Among the Santals when the eldest brother dies the next younger inherits the widow, children and all the property.

The Oraons are an aboriginal people of Chhota-nagpur. They call themselves *Kurukh* and are sometimes also known as *Dhangars*. Their home is in the Ranchi District.

Oraons

According to tradition the tribe migrated from the West Coast of India. The usual colour is dark-brown but some are as light as the Hindus. They are heavy jawed with large mouths, thick lips and projecting teeth. They revere the sun whom they acknowledge as the supreme god—*Dharmi*—the holy one who is perfectly pure but whose beneficent designs are thwarted by the evil spirits. They burn their dead but the urn with the ashes is suspended outside the deceased's hut to await the period of the year especially set apart for burials. The language is harsh and guttural having much connection with Tamil. They are divided into numerous totemistic clans. The

clans are exogamous. There are communities in Palamau, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling Tarai.

ORISSA

The Bhunias are akin to Orans. Their jurisdiction extends from Assam to Raipur in the Central Provinces. Their face is round, lips thick, brow thin, cheek-bones high, **Bhunias** nose flat, complexion not very dark, bodily frame strong and strength extraordinary. The males shave the front part of the head, retain long hair at the back, untwine it with a read comb. They wear a bandage of cloth. While at work they hang a skin on their shoulders with which they lift heavy weights. They wear wreaths made of bamboo pieces, some wear the sacred thread. They are faithful and hospitable without coming under the light of civilisation. They are simple, honest and fond of independence. A guest is a god to them. All the villagers entertain a new comer. In the village a public house is built. There the guest is housed. If he be an important government servant or a man of some position the females welcome him with wooden seats and wash his feet with turmeric. They have their tribal unity and they rebel at the slightest grievance. The females wear thick clothes and do not use veil. They tatoo their arms and shoulders. They wear brass ornaments in their ears and noses and hands and necklace with different kinds of stones. They offer rice, ghee and fowl to the deities of mountain, river and springs. Their chief God is *Boram* or the Sun. Widow marriage is prevalent among them. Axe, bow and arrow are their chief weapons.

Juangs (Patuas) are a jungle tribe of Orissa. They are found only in three tributary states—Dhenkenal, Keonjhar and Pal Lahara. Their language belongs to the Munda **Juangs (Patuas)** family. They have no traditions to connect them with any other race and they repudiate all connection with the Hos or the Santals declaring themselves the aboriginies.

In manners they are the most primitive people. Until recently they did not till the land but lived on the game they

killed or on snakes and vermin. Their huts measure about six feet by eight feet with very long door-ways. The interior is divided into two compartments. In the first the father and all the females huddle together; the second is used as a store-room. The boys have a separate hut at the entrance of the village which serves as a guest-house and general assembly place where the musical instruments of the village are kept.

Physically they are weak-working, of a reddish brown colour with flat faces, broad noses with wide nostrils, large mouths, thick lips, and the hair coarse and frizzly. Until about sixty or seventy years ago the women wore nothing but girdles of leaves and the men a diminutive bandage of cloth. Their weapons are the bow and arrows and a primitive sling made entirely of cord. Their religion is a vague belief in evil spirits. They offer fowls to the Sun when in trouble and to the earth for a bountiful harvest. Polygamy is rare. They burn their dead and throw the ashes into any running stream. Oaths are taken on an ant hill or tiger skin. Like the Kharias the Juangs are strictly exogamous.

The Khonds are an aboriginal tribe of India inhabiting the tributary states of Orissa and the Gangam district of Madras.

Their main divisions are into *Kulia* or hill Khonds and plain-dwelling Khonds. The land-owners are known as Rāj-Khonds. Their religion is animistic but their pantheon includes eighty-four gods. The Khond language, *Kui*, is more related to Telugu than is to Gondi. The Khonds are a fair type than the Gonds. They are as tall as the average Hindu and not much darker, while in features they look almost like Aryans. They are undoubtedly a mixed pre-Dravidian race with perhaps a mixture of Aryan blood. They were notorious for their '*meriah*' human sacrifices. Ten or twelve days before the sacrifice the victim's hair was cut off and the villagers having bathed went with the priest to the sacred grove to forewarn the goddess. The festival lasted for three days and the wildest orgies were indulged in. The Khonds attempt to keep away small-pox by placing thorns and brush-wood in the paths leading to places decimated by that disease in the hope of making the disease demon retrace its steps. Infanticide was practised to a small extent by some sects of the aboriginal Khonds. The prayers of the Khonds consists in "we are ignorant of what it is good to ask for. You know what is good for us." This shows resignation to divine will.

(Concluded.)

THE PRAVĀSIN (TRAVELLER) IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

BY S. V. SRINIVASA RAGHAVACHAR, M.A.

(Continued from Vol. XXXVI. Page 202)

To continue the journey is equally difficult. The poor Pravāsin is reminded again and again of his sorrowing wife. Whatever he sees around him brings to his mind the pleasures that he would have enjoyed if he were at home. Thus he is at a loss to know where he should cast his look and how he should forget the parting :

उपरि घनं घनपटलं तिर्यगिरयोपि नर्तितमयूराः ।

क्षितिरपि कन्दलधवला दृष्टिं पथिकः क्व पातयतु ॥⁵⁷

“Above a dense band of clouds ; across, hills with dancing peacocks ; and below, the earth white with sprouts of *kandala* (grass) ; where should the traveller cast his eyes ?”

Naturally, he is gradually forced to conclude that he was a fool in making a venture so much against the forces of nature and in utter despair he finds that it is too late to mend matters :

उपरि पयोधरमाला दूरे दयिता किमेतदापतितम् ।

हिमवति दिव्यौषधयः कोपाविष्टः कृष्णी शिरसि ॥⁵⁸

“An array of clouds just above, but the beloved is far away ; what has befallen ! The best cures in the Himālayas but the angry serpent on the very head.”

Even if he decides to return, he cannot get over the mental anguish and misery. He is very much afraid that even his return may not improve matters because there is no certainty of his

57. S. R. B. p. 342-82. attributed to Bhartṛhari, cf. Bhartṛhari *S'ringara-s'ataka*—92. also *Sub.* 1744 ; *Kavindravacanasaṃuccaya*, 484.

58. S. R. B. p. 342-81 : attributed to Bhojadeva, *Sub.* 1745.

beloved being still alive. Further, if, however, she happens to be alive, then also he cannot be happy because how can a really devoted and chaste wife survive the shock of the first appearance of rain-clouds when her husband is away? Thus he thinks :

किं गतेन यदि सा न जीवति प्राणिनि प्रियतमा तथापि किम्।

इत्युदीक्ष्य नवमेघमालिका न प्रयाति पथिकः स्वमन्दिरम् ॥⁵⁹

“What is the use in returning if she is not alive? And what either, if she is? (Thinking in this way) the ‘traveller’ does not return to his house after seeing an array of new rain clouds”. It is proverbial that a woman does not survive the rainy season and hence this is often the latest date fixed by the Pravāsin for his return.

शिखिनि कूजति गर्जति तोयदेः स्फुटति जातिलताकुसुमाकरे।

अहह पान्थ न जीवति ते प्रिया नमसि मासि न यासि गृहं यदि ॥⁶⁰

“While the peacock warbles, the cloud roars and heaps of jasmine flowers blossom forth, your wife does not live, O traveller, if you do not reach your house by *Śrāvaṇa* month”. Therefore, there is no hope for the Pravāsin unless he returns before the rainy season about the close of the *Āṣāḍha* month⁶¹. In short, it is impossible to begin ‘Pravāsa’ in the rainy season; if it is already begun, it is difficult to continue it; and finally it is difficult even to return, for the return journey is not free from grave apprehensions and disappointments. That is why it has been said that “whoever survives separation even after seeing the sky which resembles the *Atasi* flower in the rainy season, has nothing to fear whatsoever”.⁶² This,

59. S. R. B. p. 342-83; Sub. 1784.

60. S. R. B. p. 342-84.

61. It is interesting to know how the master poet Kalidasa makes the yakṣa send a message early in Āṣāḍha itself आषाढस्य प्रथमदिवसे so that it may reach his beloved before the rainy season and she may have strength to survive the misery. Further, how he makes the ‘Megha’ itself, the harbinger of the rainy season, take the message of hope about his welfare. This will incidentally prove that the reading आषाढस्य प्रथमदिवसे is more desirable than आषाढस्य प्रश्मदिवसे

62. अतसी पुष्पसङ्काशं खं वीक्ष्य जलदागमे।

ये वियोगेऽपि जीवन्ति न तेषां विद्यते भयम् ॥ (S. R. B. p. 181-19)

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in fact, is true of the wife also in a sense because by surviving the sight of clouds she is exhibiting great will-power and endurance and is baffling the clouds which are said to laugh at human weakness. In the following poems it is said to be the favourite pastime of clouds to inspect the houses of its victims and mock at their condition as it were :

का तौरैर्मम गर्जितैरुपरता धाराम्बुभिः का हता
का मोहं गमिता वियोगविधुरा का वा कदम्बानिलैः ।
नीता का च विलोलता मदकलैः केकास्वनेर्बहिणा-
मित्थं पान्थगृहेषु पश्यति घनो विद्युत्प्रदीपैरिव ॥ ⁶³

“ Which woman is dead from (the shock of) my loud thunder ? Who has been killed by my torrents of water ? Who, rendered miserable by separation, has been made to faint ? And who has been perturbed by the *kadamba* breezes and the sweet intoxicating voices of the peacock ? Thus does cloud seem to search the houses of travellers with the lamps of lightning ”.

The miseries of a “*Śaratpathika*”, though not as great and numerous as those of the “*Varṣapathika*” are quite considerable. Here is a description of the *Śaratpathika*:

पङ्कावुषङ्गं पथि विस्मरन्तः कथावशेषे च पयोदवृन्द ।
मार्गेषु चन्द्रातपपिच्छिन्नेषु पदे पदे चरफलुरन्वनीनाः ॥ ⁶⁴

“ Forgetful of the sticking of mire, after the clouds had cleared, the travellers slipped again and again on the roads which appear smooth in the moonlight”. However, in this season, the natural conditions are bound to be quite favourable even for the *Pravāsin*. But the pleasure of enjoying the moonlight in the company of his beloved is generally preferred to the enjoyment of the same in other ways. It is from this point of view that even this season is said to present difficulties for the *Pravāsin*.

63 For other poems on the rainy season in general and the conditions of the Pantha or his wife in that season, cf. S.R.B. p. 340-343, Sub. p. 292-304, Sadukti. 175-6 and 126 etc.,

64 S.R.B. p. 345-57. For other poems on this season, cf. S.R.B. p. 344 and 345; Sub. 304-309; Sadukti. 178-179, cf. also *Ritusamhāra*. III-24-65,

The last two seasons are alike to the *Pravāsin* in many respects. The *Hemanta* season is called सामन्तः स्मरभूपते: (the feudatory chief of the god of Love) and once again, the nights in this season are said to be specially suited to love⁶⁵. Naturally, they prove unbearable to the poor '*Pathika*' who is separated from his wife. Moreover, the extreme cold that prevails at this time prevent the traveller from carrying on his journey punctually. Fatigued as he generally is, sleep becomes more and more enjoyable. Consequently he is not able to rise early and proceed on his journey :

आहूतोपि सहायेरेमीत्युक्त्वा विमुक्तनिद्रापि ।
गन्तुमना अपि पथिकस्सङ्कोचं नैव शिथिलयति ॥⁶⁶

"Being called by his friends (he) says " I am coming ". Though wakened from sleep and himself inclined to go, still he does not slacken his reluctance." Further, this reluctance is much more manifest when he has to cross a ford on the way.⁶⁷

The verses that describe the winter traveller are famous for their clear and picturesque representation of details. Two are quoted here as examples :

संविष्टो ग्रामदेव्याः कुटघटितकुटीकुड्यकोणेकदेशे
शीते संवाति वायौ हिमकणिनि रणद्धतपंक्तिद्वयाग्रः ।
पान्थः कथां निशीथे परिकुथितजरत्तनुसन्तानगुर्वी
ग्रीवापादाग्रजानुग्रहण चटचटर्कपटां प्रवृणोति ॥⁶⁸

"Crouching in a corner of the village goddess's cottage, the poor traveller, with his teeth clattering, at night on account of the chillness and the damp breeze, conceals himself within the rugged covering cloth which consists of a big net-work of rotten threads patched together, and which brings his neck, ankle and feet together⁶⁹.

⁶⁵ निशाश्च सुरतक्षमा: Sub. 1836.

⁶⁶ S.R.B p, 347-47. Sub. 1838.

⁶⁷ cf. सङ्कोचितकयुगलः etc. Sub. 1850.

⁶⁸ S.R.B. p. 348-21. Attributed to Mayura.

⁶⁹ The difficulty of translating such verses is always keenly felt, even by eminent scholars, 'It has also been expressed that a free rendering is both easier and more desirable. The same principle has been employed here.

पुण्याग्नौ पूर्णवाज्छः प्रथममगणितश्लेषदोषःप्रदोषे

पान्थः सुप्त्वा यथेच्छं सरलतनुतृणे धामनि ग्रामदेव्याः ।

उत्कम्पी कर्पटार्थे जरति परिजलेदभ्रनिश्छिद्रनिद्रे

वाते वाति प्रकामं हिमकणनिहतः कोणतः कोणमेति ॥⁷⁰

“Sharing fully the agreeable camp-fire and not minding, at first its unhealthy heat the traveller slept at ease by night-fall in the village residence which was thinly covered with loose and thin straw ; Even when a half of his shaking garment was destroyed, the sleep of that indolent fellow was but slightly disturbed ; (In the end) When the wind blew violently he goes from corner to corner being struck by the chill dew drops.” These poems indicate how difficult it is to travel in these two seasons. Of course, the common and inevitable grief of separation intensifies these miseries and the long winter nights get doubly lengthened as it were, as expressed in अन्तर्द्वारदुःखद्विगुणतरुतायामयामास्त्रियामाः ⁷¹ One of the marked features of this season is the extraordinary agreeableness of the camp-fire. It is kindled very often and the heat, though unhealthy, is enjoyed by the travellers, unmindful of the consequences. The description of enjoying the camp-fire is exquisite in many cases. We may even say, that here, poetry comes nearest to painting. So clearly, is the scene of the traveller enjoying the camp-fire, pictured. An excellent verse on this topic, attributed to Bāṇa, runs as follows:

अन्योन्याहतदन्तनाद मुखं प्रक्षुब्धं मुखं कुर्वता

नत्र साश्रुकणे निमील्यपुलकव्यासङ्गिकण्डूयता ।

हा हा हेति मुनिद्वरं त्रिवदता बाह्वप्रसार्य क्षणं

पुण्याग्निः पथिकेन पीयत इव ज्वालाहत स्मृणा ॥⁷²

“Bending his face (over the fire) while the noise of the teeth set on edge makes it garrulous, scratching his thrilled body with closed and tearful eyes, and babbling crudely with outstretched arms, it seems as though the wayfarer is drinking the holy fire, while the flames touch his very moustaches”.

It may therefore be reiterated that in every season the difficulties of the Pravāsin are held up to engage our attention whereas his

70. S. R. B. p. 348-20, attributed to Bāṇa.

71. S. R. B. p. 348-22.

72. S. R. B. p. 347-52. For other verses on this cf. Sub. P. 310-314, S. R. B. p. 347-348 ; Sadukti, P. 180 and 182.

pleasures are not so much emphasised. This is nothing but an indication of the great inconveniences of travel in general and the high standard of domestic life that the ancient *Nāgarakas* maintained. One of the characteristic features of Indian Culture is that we find in it all grades and standards of life from one extreme to the other, in matters relating to the choice of a way of life. The rigorous ascetic '*Parivrājaka*', is as much adored and appreciated as the gay and and romantic *Nāgaraka*. Each is as much idealised as the other as a result of which a good many alternatives were open for the people to lead a good life. The fundamental diversity of human nature and the impossibility of defining a way of life equally acceptable and applicable to all of them, was recognised. Hence it is, that we find various religions and philosophies in India, the multiplicity of which, strangely enough, has been spoken of as the bane of national progress and unity. This is not the place to refute this view at length. However, it is to be stated that whichever way of life or philosophy was upheld, certain main principles had invariably a place in it. All possible efforts were made in every system and creed to recommend virtue and condemn vice and glorify the truth contained in the famous statement from the *Mahābhārata* 'परोपकारः पुण्याय पापाय परपीडनम् ।' so that these different systems of thought are characterised as different roads that lead to the same goal. Further, "the attitude of mind which leaves no alternative between the world and the monastery, between love and renunciation"⁷³ also seems to have influenced some sanskrit poets. The philosophy underlying this is that imperfect realisation of either of the ideals is of little use and that no moderation is possible between them. As Bhartṛhari expounds this philosophy :—

"Either the beautiful woman, or the cave of the mountains,
Either youth, or the forest,
An abode either on the sacred banks of the Ganges,
Or, in the delightful embrace of a young woman"⁷⁴ ;

73. Dr. S. K. De's *Treatment of Love in Skt. Literature*, p. 35.

74. *Ibid*, p. 34 and Bhartṛhari's *Sringāraśataka*, 37, 38 and 39.

There is absolutely no middle path between enjoyment and resignation. If these are the only two ways open to men, then most of the people would probably choose the delightful way rather than the rigorous one. It has been stated that real religious life requires great mental abilities and restraint which are absent in the great part of humanity. There is also the fear that extreme devotion to this ideal may result in sensuousness and moral degeneration which finally lessens virtuousness also. Therefore, the great ideal of practising a higher type of love which does not come in the way of either religion or human liberty and fraternity is very much recommended by many other poets and philosophers. It is this aspect of Indian Culture that has won universal approbation. If Kālidāsa's *S'ākuntala* has won universal appreciation it is because of this ideal of higher love that is suggestively preached.⁷⁵ Love that does not centre round a particular object to the utter disregard of other things, but that which embraces not only the particular sect, race, nationality or the whole of humanity but also the whole of animate and inanimate creation, is gloriously upheld by all the great men of the glorious past and the present.

Coming back from this digression we may note that the *Pravāsin's* story signifies and represents an aspect of this ideal, though some poems quoted here and there, exaggerate the importance of domestic life too much. The ideal of travel, it is to be noted, is as much exalted as the enjoyment of domestic happiness and most probably there is no serious contradiction between the two.

We may now proceed to trace the effects of the *Pravāsin's* travel on his home. The anthologies have very lengthy sections on this topic under the heading 'विरहिण्यवस्था'. The 'virahini' (separated one), of course, need not necessarily be a पथिकजाया (wife of a traveller). But the experiences of a पथिकजाया after her husband's departure are generally found under this title. We shall note a few verses of this type and proceed to concentrate our

75. cf. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's criticism of *S'ākuntala* and *Kumāra Sambhava*, in Bengali, translated into Kannada by the late Prof. T. S. Venkannaia.

attention on the "*Pathika*" who, as the subject of our study is more important to us.

Some of the poems that we may have to consider under this section are apt to be misinterpreted as depicting a morally degenerate society. But it is not proper to form a low opinion of any society on the evidence of a few stray verses; for, it is as easy to have a high opinion of it by studying a few other poems. Moreover, any society whether ancient or modern is bound to have all grades of intellectual, moral and material life though in the literature of some societies all these aspects are not reflected where the bright side of the picture is very well represented and the black side is generally concealed or glossed over. But in Sanskrit Literature there is no hide and seek of this kind. Everything whether high or low, spiritual or material, and sacred or profane is clearly depicted. Hence unsympathetic critics make much of the bad traits it had, while the others extol its good traits and proclaim the spiritual sovereignty of the ancient Indians.

The after-effects of a husband's travel on a virtuous wife is always described in a pathetic manner. Nevertheless, the ideal of bearing with fortitude and chastity the pangs of separation from the Pravāsin-husband, is much glorified. Both these are depicted in:

ब्रह्मानिलोत्तुणीकृत गृहविवर प्रपतदम्बुधाराभ्यः

कुव्यालिखितावधिदिनं रक्षत्यार्या कतलाभ्यां ॥⁷⁶

"When the thatched roof of the hut was toppled over by a storm the virtuous one covers (protects) with her palms, the 'date of arrival' written on the wall from the torrents of rain falling inside." Even in such a sad plight, the poor wife guards, from rain her crude but precious calendar which gives but a faint idea of her husband's return.

Here is another verse wherein the condition of a virtuous प्रोषितभर्तृका is described:

लिखति न गणयति रेखां निर्भरबाष्पाम्बुधौतगण्डतटा ।

अवधिदिनावसानं मा भूदिति शङ्किता बाला ॥⁷⁷

76. G.S. 11—67.

77. *Sub* 1072, attributed to Morikā, a poetess.

"She marks the lines, but never counts them, fearing the expiry of the date fixed for return; the poor girl whose cheeks are bathed in unceasing tears." The husband had promised to return in a certain number of days and the girl goes on marking everyday on the wall so that she may have an idea as to how many days have elapsed since his departure. But she never counts the number of marks made, for fear of learning that it exceeds the number of days fixed for his return. Apprehensive of some catastrophe she never makes bold to count the lines and calculate the date of his return.

In marked contrast to this type of separation there is that of the 'Asati' or the unchaste woman, which is described in this verse :

दुर्दिन निशीथपवने निस्सञ्चारासु नगरवीथीषु ।

पत्न्यौ विदेशयते परं सुखं जघनचपलायाः ॥⁷⁸

"When the husband is abroad, and the city streets are without traffic, while the wind blows during the rainy night, *Jaghanacapalā* (a lustful or libidinous woman) feels immensely happy."

We may proceed to find out the causes that lead a woman to immoral life when the husband happens to be away. The condition of a 'virahinī' is too obvious to need a detailed description. The following verses may be noted as specimens depicting the various aspects of suffering :

तस्याः स्तनांतरन्यस्तं चन्दनं तापशोषितम् ।

मनोभवान्निदग्धस्य बभौ भस्मेव चेतसः ॥⁷⁹

"The sandal paste smeared between her breasts are dry on account of the heat of her body looked like the ashes of the heart burnt by the fire of love."

धृतमपि मधु पारितं न पातुं

नयनमुखोपि न वीक्षितश्शशाङ्कः ।

श्रुतिमुखमपि न श्रुतं च गीतं

गतवति भर्तरि भर्तृदेवताभिः ॥⁸⁰

78. Attributed to a poetess named *Jaghanacapalā*, *Sub.* 1937.

79. *Sub.* 1068.

80. *Sub.* 1083.

"Wine, though held in the hand, was not drunk. The Moon, though pleasing to the eyes was not beheld; nor was even sweet music heard by them who regarded their departed husbands as Gods."⁸¹

In this wretched condition, the thoughts of a Pravāsin's wife usually centred round her husband and on the problem of 'how to spend time' not unmixed with an attitude of resentment bordering on hatred. The following verse reflects this aspect of her life:

हृदय स्थायतां सम्यक्किमेवं परितप्यसे ।

वह्मस्ते जनो योसौ न भवांस्तस्य वह्मम् ॥⁸²

"Oh! my heart, keep quiet; why do you wail thus? To that person who is so dear to you, you are not at all beloved." This verse obviously refers to a case where the lover deceives the innocent girl and runs away after a happy time with her.

The indignant outburst of a woman against the craze of men for travel is depicted in this verse from *Gāthāsaptasatī*—(VI 86):

दोषोऽयं महिलानां यदि प्रवसन्ति गर्विताः पुरुषाः ।

विरहान्तो न हि तावद्विना यावन्म्रियन्ते नो ।⁸³

"It is the fault of women themselves that men are able to travel in a spirit of exaltation. So long as two or three women do not end their lives so long do separations not cease"⁸³

During the period of separation, the female companion of the 'separated one' plays an important part. She is often partly responsible for the transformation of a virtuous heart and the adventures of the innocent lady in the direction of finding another lover. But it cannot be said that she tries intentionally to lead her mistress astray. The position of the poor companion is also much to blame for the mishap that may occur. While on the one hand she is not able to prevent her mistress' husband from going away she cannot bear to see, on the other hand, the pangs of separation exhibited by her dear friend. Further, though she has not much insight into

81. cf. also the sections on विरहिणवस्या in Sub. p. 178—183 वियोगिन्याः अवस्था

in S. R. B. p. 275. Almost every anthology has verses on this topic.

82. Sub. 1111.

83. Prof. C. R. Narasimhastrī's translation.

her nature and is at a loss to judge her moral consciousness and will power, she cannot but suggest a remedy to her condition. She would be failing in her duty if she did not console her in some way or other. Under these circumstances it is natural and even inevitable that she should give some improper advice thinking within herself that she is giving a great boon to her suffering mistress. If the *Viyogini* (separated one) happens to be a chaste woman possessing great will power, she snubs her and there ends the matter. But if she is fickle-minded and if this is somehow known to the clever *sakhi* also, the latter makes much of the situation to her own advantage and indulges in flattering the already proud mistress. She describes eloquently the beauty of her various limbs and curses the husband who abandons all the pleasure in his enthusiasm for travel. The refrain of the companion in her conversation is often found to be :

इदमपोह्य गतो यदि निर्वृणो
ननु वरोरु स एव हि वञ्चितः ॥⁸⁴

“..... If that cruel fellow were to abandon all these, is it not, my dear, that he alone is deceived ? ”

Thus the mistress is gradually led to think that there is yet a future for her in spite of the former lover's neglect of her. While these flattering words of the '*sakhi*' expressed with an air of well-wishing, begin to act upon the mind of the '*Virahini*', the forces of nature add fuel to the fire of love as well as of revenge. She begins to consider seriously whether she should waste away like the blossoming flower in a desert or reap the precious pleasures of life while youth lasts. This internal conflict of the '*Pathikajāyā*' (wife of a traveller) reaches its climax in the rainy season. Just as it is difficult for the '*Pravāsin*' to continue his journey in the rainy season, it is very difficult for his wife at home to endure with separation during that season. The following verses which describe the *Viyogini*'s condition in that season are not worthy :

छिन्तां वनराजयः कुसुमिता निर्वसितां सर्पशु.

ङ्गीपोद्दामरुदम्बरेण सुरभिः संग्रथ्यतां मारुतः ।

हा कष्टं धिगहो न कश्चिदपि मे मूर्काकरोत्यम्बुदा

नित्येवं पथिकाङ्गना प्रलपितं भुत्वेव खं रोदिति ॥⁸⁵

“ Let the blossoming row of trees be cut to pieces: the serpent-eater which makes the foot of the mountain beautiful, be driven out and the fragrant winds be tied up (confined) in the sky; Oh! awful it is! no one silences these clouds;’ Hearing this bewailing of the traveller’s wife it seems as though the sky is lamenting”.

वातावान्तु कदम्बरेणुशबला नृत्यन्तु सर्पद्विषः

सोत्साहा नववारिगर्भगुरवो मुञ्चन्तु नादं घनाः ।

मग्नां कान्तवियोगशोकजलधौ मां वीक्ष्य दीनाननां

विद्युत्किं स्फुरसि त्वमप्यकरुणे स्त्रीत्वे समाने सति ॥⁸⁶

“ Let the winds coloured by the *kadamba* flower-dust blow as they please; let the peacocks dance, and let the clouds being heavy with new moisture, thunder in all enthusiasm. But why do you also, Oh! Lightning, sparkle like this, looking at my pathetic face, merged as I am, in the ocean of separation from my husband? Are you also unkind to me in spite of femininity being common to both of us ⁸⁷?”

मेघैर्व्योम नवान्बुमिर्वसुमती विद्युलतामिदिशे

धाराभिर्गगनं वनानि कुटजेः पूरैर्वृता निम्नगाः ।

एकां घातयितुं वियोगविधुरां दीनां वराकीं स्त्रियं

प्रावृत्काल हताश वर्णय कृतं मिथ्या किमाडम्बरम् ॥⁸⁸

“ The sky is covered with clouds; the earth with fresh water; the quarters with lightning; the atmospheric region with showers, the woods with *kuṭaja* flowers; and the rivers with floods; Oh! heartless rainy season! why do you make such a great display (of your powers) just to kill a miserable woman who is bereaved by separation ”

85. Sub. 1770, cf. also शिखिकुलगलप्रासच्छरैः etc. Sub. 1763.

86. S. R. B. p. 343-107 cf. also श्रुत्वातन्व्याः etc. S. R. B. p. 343.

87. Note that the word विद्युत् is feminine gender in Sanskrit.

88. S. R. B. p. 343-106:

Thus it is, in this rainy season, that even the most virtuous and devoted wife feels miserable and consequently begins to entertain and nourish evil thoughts. The struggle between her 'conscience' and 'fiend' is beautifully described as follows :

दुर्वारः स्मरमागीणाः प्रियतमो दूरे मनोऽत्युत्सुकं

गाढं प्रेम नवं वयोऽति कठिनाः प्राणाः कुलं निर्मलम् ।

स्त्रीत्वं धैर्यविरोधि मन्मथसुहृत्कालः कृतान्तोऽक्षमः

नो सख्यश्चतुरा कथं नु विरहस्तोदय्य इत्थं मया ॥⁸⁹

"The arrows of cupid are unpreventable ; Beloved is far away ; and the mind is anxiously repining. Love is intense, age being young, but the lives are hard indeed. (For they do not fly away) and the family is spotless ;

(Moreover) Femininity is averse to boldness but the time is a friend of Love ; Oh ! but Yama is unpardoning and these friends are not clever (enough to understand me and assist me).....When this is the case how indeed is separation to be endured ?"

After such struggle the weak and fickle minds give way and the much-feared romance with a stranger begins. In the early stages the companion finds her mistress moody and thoughtful and concludes that she is in love ! She ventures to ask her the reason, advises her not to be depressed and finally suggests the remedy for her ailment by promising to help her in her endeavours. Then the companion is sent to the lover in order to report to him her condition. Some unfaithful messengers, it is also said, play false to their mistress and get more attached to the lover. This in turn is detected by the lady and the companion is suggestively rebuked lest she should expose every thing to the laughing public⁹⁰. When this does not happen she proves to be immensely useful to her mistress in her romantic adventures. After all, a Kapinjala may not subscribe to the views of his friend Puṇḍarika ; but a female companion like Mahāśweta will never fail to realise the position of a Kādambari in distress and is bound to be sympathetic to her.

(To be continued)

89. S. R. B. p. 285-34. cf. also *Sahityadarpaṇa* p. 64 कालोमधुः

90. Cf. निश्शेषयुतचन्दनम् etc. frequently quoted in works on poetics cf. also the section on दूत्यपहासप्रश्नाः

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS. NEW SERIES. No. XIII.*

On an Ancient Indian Ætiological Myth about the Evolution of the Painted Partridge, the Himālayan Skylark and the Cinnamon-backed Sparrow

BY THE LATE PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA M.A., B.L.

THE Painted Partridge (*Francolinus pictus*, Jerdon and Selby) the Himālayan Skylark (*Alauda dulcivox*, Hodgson) and the Cinnamon-backed Sparrow (*Passer cinnamomeus*, Gould) appear to be the three birds which are mentioned in the ancient Indian myth which forms the subject-matter of this paper. All these three species of birds are found in the north-western parts of Northern India; and the specimens thereof, which are included in the collections of the Lucknow Provincial Museum, were collected in those parts ¹. For this reason I am inclined to think that the ancient Indo-Āryans were familiar with all these three species.

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, it is narrated that, in very ancient times, there was born to Twashtri or Visvakarmā, the artisan of the gods, a son who was possessed of six eyes and three mouths. It was, for this reason, he was called *Viśvarūpa* or "the Many-shaped". With one of his three mouths, the monster was in the habit of finishing up the drink which was set apart for the gods; with the second he was accustomed to quaff the juice of the soma-creeper; and with the third, he used to consume the solid food reserved for the gods. So *Viśvarūpa* was on inimical terms with Indra, the god of heaven, who became enraged with him for his depredations and, severed his head from his body with one blow from his powerful thunderbolt. On this being done, there came out from his first mouth a Cinnamon-backed Sparrow which, like its other congeners, twitters to itself as if it had befuddled

* This is the last of the series of the Studies in Bird-Myths and in Plant-Myths by the late Professor Sarat Chandra Mitra.

ED.

1. Vide the Catalogue of Birds in the Lucknow Provincial Museum, Allahabad. N.W.P. and Oudh, Government Press. 1890. Pages 232; 216; 204-205.

itself with strong drink. This bird was called "*Kalabinka*" in ancient times. From his second mouth was born the bird which was called by the Indo-Āryans "*Kopinjal*" or "*Cātaka*" and which was, in complexion, yellow as the soma-creeper and was popularly believed to live by drinking the drops of rain. Lastly, from his third mouth was born the painted partridge, which was called "*Tittiri*" by the ancient Indo-Āryans. This species of partridge which possesses wings which are ocellated or mottled with spots of white (which is the colour of butter) and of red (which is the colour of honey) because it came out of the mouth with which the monster used to partake the various kinds of solid food.²

From a careful study of the foregoing myth we find that :

(1) The Indo-Āryans were careful observers of the physical characteristics and the habits of the birds, which inhabited the plains of north-western India and the Punjab, in which they settled after their arrival in India.

(2) Drinking appears to have been common among the Indo-Āryans who must have been familiar with persons who befuddle themselves with strong drinks and with the characteristic habit, which these drunkards possessed, of talking incoherently to themselves.

(3) The Indo-Āryans must have observed the peculiar habit which the Cinnamon-backed Sparrow possesses of chirping to itself. They have, therefore, very appropriately described this bird's having been born from Viśvarūpa's first mouth with which he used to drink up all the drink reserved for the gods.

(4) The "*Kopinjal*" bird (otherwise named as *Cātaka*), which is mentioned in the foregoing myth, may be the Himālayan Skylark (*Alauda dulcivox*, Hodgson), which had its habitat in the north-western ranges of the Himālayas. Most likely, the coloration of the upper parts of its plumage is yellow as the soma-creeper. It is for this reason that the ancient Indo-Āryan myth-maker has

2 *Vide Indian Nature-Myths*. By Srimati Sovana Devi. London ; Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1919. Page. 47.

appropriately described it as having been born from Viśvarūpa's second mouth with which that monster used to quaff the juice of the soma-creeper.

(5) The ancient Indo-Āryans were a pastoral people and maintained themselves by tending large herds of cattle and lived upon the milk and butter which were the principal products of their milch-cows, and also upon honey. They were, therefore, familiar with the white colour of butter and the red colour of honey.

(6) The ancient Indo-Āryans must have been familiar with the coloration of the Painted Partridge (*Francolinus pictus*), of which the wings are, very likely, ocellated with white and red spots. It is for this reason that they have appropriately described this bird as having been born from Viśvarūpa's third mouth with which he was in the habit of consuming butter, honey and other solid foods.

(7) On a further consideration I am of opinion that the bird "*Kopinjal*" or "*Cātaka*", which was born from Viśvarūpa's second mouth and which is popularly believed to quench its thirst by drinking drops of rain-water, may be one of the three species of Indian skylarks which are found throughout the Indian Empire and especially in its north-western parts. Their zoological names are (1) *Alauda arvensis*, Linn: (2) *Aluada gulgula*, Frank; (3) *Alauda dulcivox*, Hodgs.

These skylarks are popularly believed to utter the call-note of "*Fatikjal*", "*Fatikjal*" or "O! for a drop of pellucid rain-water," "O! for a drop of pellucid rain-water"; and quench their thirst by drinking drops of rain-water. See, in this connection, my paper entitled: "*Studies in Bird-Myths No. III.—On Two Ætiological Myths about the Skylark*," published in this Journal Volume XIV pages 106 to 110.

(8) Lastly, we find that the gods of the higher pantheon of the Hindus are actuated by vindictive feelings, and that even Indra the lord of heaven, cruelly slew Viśvarūpa simply to satisfy his vengeful motives. Indra ought to have dealt with Viśvarūpa leniently considering that the latter was the son of Twashtri or Visvakarmā who was the artisan of the gods.

REVIEWS

Through An Indian Camera. Volumes I & II. By Sir Albion Rajkumar Banerji, M.A., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (Retired).
Published by The Bangalore Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd. Bangalore City. Price Rs. 10.

ENGLAND born, the son of a well-known and advanced social reformer Sashipada Banerji, a distinguished Collector in British India and the Dewan of a foremost Indian State Mysore, particularly at a period which witnessed the after-math and economic complications of World War I, Sir Albion Banerji combines in himself culture, knowledge, intelligence, practical sagacity and driving power. As a non-official who knew this administrator for more than twenty-five years I cannot hold back my admiration for his deep insight, knowledge of men and things, unity of purpose and political flair which characterised his work in Mysore. His speeches as Dewan of Mysore published by the Government Press, amply establish the claim for him as one of the foremost Indian statesmen. On retirement from the Dewanship of Mysore, Sir Albion went to England where he published a quarterly journal 'Indian Affairs' during the most controversial period of the Round Table Conference. Subsequently he has been a globe-trotter for a decade and more with an eye and a vision, has spoken on a variety of matters of public interest, mostly relating to the burning questions of the modern world, political, economic and social. The publication of his views are always welcome, more so at a time when a new India, is being forged successfully out of the crucible. He sees in the people the *ultima thule* of sovereignty; he values the dignity of labour; he believes in work for the benefit of the common man, for the economic and industrial progress and prosperity of the nation; he would weave and knit closer together the relation between the Hindu and the Mussalman and Indian States and British Indian units; And he would like, to grapple with exigencies in abnormal times, a strong Central Government endowed with full power to enforce its sanctions throughout the length and breadth of the land, while holding

that normally the residuum of authority should vest in the units of the federation. He would like the states' representatives in a democratic assembly to be the representatives of the people. Education untrammelled by any kind of old tradition, primary, vocational or technical or otherwise should be such as to suit the conditions of the country. It could never be self-supporting and English education cannot be completely ignored. One would very much wish that at a time like the present Sir Albion Banerji had given a birds eye-view of all the aspects of Indian problems in one lecture which we find spread over these two neat and nicely got-up volumes.

S. S.

Sukthankar Memorial Edition. Vol. II. *Analecta*. Edited on behalf of the Committee by P. K. Gode, M.A. Published by V. S. Sukthanhar Memorial Edition Committee by Karnataka Publishing House, Chira Bazar, Bombay. 2. (India). Price Rs. 20—0—0.

WE welcome this volume which deserves the widest circulation, both as a tribute to one who devoted his life for the cause of India's national epic, "the content of our collective conscious", but also because of the intellectual brilliance, penetrating insight, critical analysis, balanced judgement and the combination of a passion for occidental method with a mastery of the indigenous technique of Sanskrit grammar. He reaches with equal ease the heights of philological research and of lucidity and clearness needed for popular appeal. His article on "Curiosities of Hindu Epigraphy" presents in a brief masterly survey the characteristics peculiar to Indian Epigraphs. His Palæographical notes are noted for their careful precision. His lectures on "An Excursion on the Periphery of Indological Research" and "Position of Linguistic Studies in India" are characterised by lively interest and freshness of approach, full of stimulating suggestions. The latter address reveals his character fully. He appeals that India may justly claim to be the cradle of the linguistic science..... The grammar of Pāṇini has been pronounced to be "one of the great

monuments of human intelligence..... We, his unworthy descendants have shamefully neglected the study of this important subject, and completely lost their grip over it..... I am not a victim of inferiority complex..... I only wish to impress upon you the great advances made in linguistic science in other countries and the necessity of strenuous exertion and devoted application on our part to make up for lost time and lost opportunities..... If we have any ambition left in us to hold up our heads in civilised society, we must not besmirch the fair name of Pāṇini and other illustrious linguisticians whom our country has produced, by leaving this field of study and research to foreigners.....India becomes again only a market for raw materials.....Let me not be misunderstood. I am not making cheap swadeshi propaganda. I am not 'anti-foreign'. Far from it, I admire the European savants.....I appreciate their work and I thank them for it, cordially. But we could do the same and even better, perhaps, if we only prepared for it properly and set to work with determination".

The volume before us contains his critical edition of Sākṭayana's Grammar (Adhyāya 1 Pāda 1) with the commentary of Yaśavarman with German translation and notes submitted for his Doctorate in Berlin; his studies in Bhāsa, including his translation of Svapnavāsavadatta; his epigraphic studies; miscellaneous articles; lectures and book reviews. His first excursion in the field of Bhāsa was by an article in this journal (Vol. IX. pages 181 to 185) entitled "Chārudatta—a fragment". His critical study of the metres, his concordance of all the plays, his bibliography, the discussion of their prākṛit in the introductory essay and the acumen displayed in his review of Wilhelm Printz's thesis on the subject, and his own solution of the Bhāsa riddle form a model of literary research which deserves to be a text book in all universities. His solution is "our Svapnavāsavadatta is a Malayalam recension of Bhāsa's drama of that name; the Pratijñā Yaugandharāyaṇa may be by the same author; but the authorship of the rest of the drama must be said to be still uncertain." This was in 1924. In reviewing the Nāṭakalakṣaṇa ratnakośa of Śāgara Nandin discovered in Nepāl and published by Dillon in

Dublin in 1937, he found confirmation of his view by a reference in it to Svapnavāsavadatta and the similarity of the prologue except slight difference in wording. In the field of epigraphic research his discussion on the 'Home of the So-called Andhra Kings' and the attention drawn by him to Satavahani-hara and Satavahani-ratthā is the most prominent, and his rendering of Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus is conspicuous for its daring originality.

We conclude this review with his tribute to the Gita in his own words: "The Song Celestial is a different work, its baffling difficulty lies in its deceptive simplicity. It appeals to different people in entirely different ways. It is the Crest Jewel of Indian literature."

A. V. R.

Bharata Kaumudi (Studies in Indology in Honour of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji) Part. I. Published for the Committee by the Indian Press, Ltd. Allahabad. Price Rs. 10—0—0.

WE welcome this tribute to the scholarship and patriotism of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, Itihasa-siromani. Dr. Mookerji has been associated with Mysore and with the Mythic Society from 1917 and earlier. The volume before us is valuable alike for its rich variety in contents and authorship. The articles on the Island of Kunlun and Candragupta, on Combodian China, India and Polynesia, Calcutta-Batavia Correspondence, the Sangam Dynasty of Ceylon and Sriksetra, recall to our minds that Dr. Mookerji won his literary laurels first by his work on Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity. Proto-Indian civilisation has stimulating suggestions from H. Heras' study on "Two Rings of the Museum of Ibiza (Spain)" containing seals of *Minas* and K. N. Dikshit's incisive note on "Some Problems in Indian Archæology". Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy's elucidation of *Tanūkṛit*, and Dr. B. K. Ghosh's "Endingless Numerals in *R̥gveda*" offer excursion to Vedic times. It is a pity that death robbed us of Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. R. Shama Sastry who would have enriched this section with his refreshing and brilliant contribution on Vedic chronology and astronomy. *Saptāṅga Supra-tiṣṭhita*, Concept of *Khandha* in Buddhism, A Buddhist *Dhāraṇi*

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worshipped by Jains, Dhamma Chakka, and Buddhist Rules of Decorum contain comparative studies of social value, while Pāṇini and Grammar are represented by the illuminating studies on "Taddhita Sūtras", "The Vaiyyākaraṇa Conception of Gender", "Traces of an Old Metrical Prākṛit Grammar", and "Pāṇini's Vocabulary" subsequent Indian historical material, inscriptions, coins, sculpture, painting and literature is covered by the rest of the volume. Mysore and South India furnish the following topics :—

M. M. Bhat's "Mathematics in Karnāṭaka of the Middle Ages", Dr. M. H. Krishna's "The Dalvai Family of Mysore", K. V. K. Ayyar's "Cerman Perumal" and G. M. Moraes' "A forgotten Chapter in the History of the Konkan." Dr. Krishna is a disciple of Dr. Mookerji. His translation of "Kaḷale Doregala Vamāvali" with critical notes is of special interest to us in Mysore now, as the Wodeyar and Dalavai families are directly fused together again in our present ruler. Mr. Ayyar's study is valuable for its collection of Tamil and Malayalam sources and affords yet another instance, so frequently met till lately in Indological studies of rediscovery of the accuracy of old tradition after being laid aside by earlier works. Mr. Moraes has done valuable service by bringing together all connected material with the celebrated Mādhavamantri of Vijayanagara. But the intriguing questions about the identity of his guru Vidyāraṇya remain unsettled, despite the latest finds of inscriptions of Mādhavamantri and his successors or the Goanese and Banavase gādis. One is however led to wonder and to enquire why if Kriyāśakti is identified with Vidyāthirtha and Vidyāśankara on the assumption that the latter were names adopted on ascending the Sringeri Pontifical throne, Mādhavamantri and Vidyāraṇya should not be similarly identified, practically as we see no lithic record or tradition that Mādhavamantri was married or had any issue as his successor in Goa. Narahari is described as a disciple of Vidyāśankara (Gurubhai) and lastly as Narahari's successor, Baichanna Vodeyar *alias* Bhaskara is styled as a kumāra of Viravasanta Mādhava Rāya (E. C. VII. Honnali 71) and as prospering through the lustre of Śrīman Mādhava (M. A. R. 1941 Pp. 195-205 line 19) श्रीमान्माधवते जयते श्रीमास्क्रो भूतले।

Bhāskara's describing himself as a *kumāra* of Mādhava and the use of the honorific श्रीमात् and the term तेजस् (which means also spiritual power) the reference earlier in lines 12 and 15 to Mādhava and Narahari without any honorific—these do not rule out the possibility that Mādhava succeeded to the Sringeri pontifical throne. Cf. also the celebrated exclamation of Vishwamitra विम्बलं क्षत्रियबलं ब्रह्मतेजो बलंबलं.

Dr. Barua's "The Arthasāstra" is a valuable study and gives a comprehensive view of the discussions about the date of the extant text and a critical analysis of the discussions about its contents. But we are afraid he treads on debatable, if not untenable, ground when he bases a connection with post-Mauryan age, a predilection for Rājasthāna and Aśvamedha ignoring that they were pre-Buddhistic observations of Vedic antiquity, and when he speaks of three seasons in a year as the earlier literary tradition and six seasons as a later tradition, ignoring for example Prasna Upaniṣad I-II, which refers to the year as पञ्चपद (five feet or seasons, including as one Hemanta and Śiśira) according to some and as षडर (six spokes or seasons) according to others. His discussions leading to his rhetorical question "Does it not follow from these facts that China did not find mention in Indian literature much before the beginning of the Christian Era?" is unconvincing because he himself admits that Chinas (Plural) are referred to in the Mahābhārata (Sabha Parva 26, 9) as nestling on the border of Prāgjyōtiṣa (Kāmarūpa or Assam) and also because Chinas are specifically referred to in Rāmāyaṇa (Kiskinda khanda, 43, 13) चीनान् परमचीनांश्च * * * * हिमवन्तं विचिन्वय in Sugriva's instructions about the countries to be searched for the missing Sita.

The volume ends with a brilliant article by Dr. Radha Kumud's brother Dr. Radha Kamal on the Significance of the Indian Art Motifs, which he closes with a masterly reference to the gigantic figure of the Trimurti at the Elephanta cave, and we may well exclaim with him "Never have silence and activity, renewal and withdrawal in the soul's dialectical onward march ordered in such plastic harmony and rhythm. Never have the clarity and stillness

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of the human soul derived from complete identification with the realm of Becoming found such magestic expression in stone."

We await the publication of the second part eagerly.

A. V. R.

Why Exhibit Works of Art By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

Published by Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London,
W. C. I. Price 6 Shillings in stiff paper covers.

I do not think it necessary to give any explanation for exhibiting works of art but the heading of the book under review is intriguing as giving a traditional or normal view of art by an expert in that art. The work of art is an education in itself, creates and procreates art and interest in you. It is not merely exhibition of ideal curiosity or an entertaining spectacle. The various phases of human wisdom lie there passing in review in true and realistic fashion. A work of art appeals from its intrinsic merit in a language all its own and that language is an universal language and it directly appeals to you who looks at it. The various essays of Dr. Coomaraswamy in this heading contribute to the realisation of the human values of anything made being determined by the coincidence in it of beauty and utility, significance and aptitude. In the work of the artist is expounded the universal doctrines contained in the Christian and Oriental philosophy of art. It is not mere pleasure, or æsthetic appreciation, abominations and beastly devices of the heathen but contemplative and active lives and the responding echo which art creates and attracts in you; it is the beauty in it that has the attractive power of perfection. Art sets up a note of difference from the empirical to the ideal, from observation to vision and consequently it appeals to the fibre in the man, helps to develop his personality and enables man to think for himself. Art may not be utilitarian in its aspect but yet there have been works of art which command fabulous sums in the market-place. It appeals to the higher emotions of man, mostly noble, symbolising his feelings, his meditative outlook on life. It is not pure imitation of nature in her normal operation. It is not

mere abstraction. The general end of art is the good of man as Aristotle says and the censorship of art is the judgment of the public and art and perfection of arts are invariably a creation of genius and illustrative. Art without industry will not be long-lived if the labourer is to be worthy of his higher aspirations. Dr. Coomaraswamy in these lectures has discussed in considerable detail the whole world of art and the philosophy of art and the conception and portraiture of art drawn from moral classics of the world. Bharata visiting an ancestral chapel was unable to recognise the effigies of his own parents : at the same time he exclaims at the perfection of the workmanship and feels the moving power of the figures : that here too in India proper it must have been rather the defied man than man as he had been on earth that was represented in the effigies.

S. S.

Sculptures Inspired by Kalidasa. By C. Sivaramamurthi, M.A.

Published by The Samskr̥ta Academy, Madras. Price Rs. 2

THE title of the brochure under review is not properly worded. It is too tall a claim that the author makes for Kālidāsa as the inspirer of the several pieces of sculptures referred to by him. Kālidāsa is the master poetic artist of Indian culture prevalent at the dawn of the Christian Era. His genius has created superb literary pictures and has shared with mastery in other fields of knowledge and human activity the task of immortalising the ideals floating at the time. His poems and dramas help us in interpreting many sculptures which have baffled study from other angles. The unbinding of *Ekavñi* by the returned lover, *Ajina-yagnopavita*, the application of *alaktaka* to the foot, the *śankha* and *padma nidhis* and *mātanganakra* are outstanding examples of such success in interpretation. But the figure of the adoration of Buddha's feet from the Amarāvātī Rail (figure 23) enshrines only a practice older than the Rāmāyaṇa, as evidenced by Bharata's taking the पादुक used by Rāma, when Rāma refused to accompany him back to Ayōdhya. (Ayōdhya Khānda, 112nd Sarga, Slokāś 21 *et seq.*). Nor can we rightly ascribe the figures of Śīva as

Natarāja at Badami and Dacca ; figures 36 and 37) to the inspiration of Kālidāsa, until we establish that tradition had not credited this aspect of the deity earlier. And we cannot ignore the development of *Śilpa Śāstra* and *Āgamas* between the dates of Kālidāsa and of these figures.

All the same, the author has presented us a fascinating and faithful study—one which opens a new method of approach for unravelling many an obscure point in the history of Indian Culture and every lover of Indian Culture should be grateful for it.

A. V. R.

Numismatic Parallels of Kalidasa. By C. Sivaramamurthi, M.A.
Published by The Sakti Karḷayam, Madras. Price Rs. 2.

MR. SIVARAMAMURTHI has created a name for himself by his masterly publication on Amarāvati Sculptures. He has now presented as a fascinating study of the Numismatic Parallels of Kālidāsa, thus completing the trilogy planned by him for Kālidāsa from the Archæological standpoint—Sculptural, epigraphical and numismatic. The author rightly says “every figure struck on a coin has been done deliberately and has some meaning to connote.....Some of these offer themselves for interpretation in the light of some literary parallels.” But he is not on equally firm ground when he says “in one form or another the inspiration of classical poets has its stamp (on such figures)”. The more tenable interpretation of the parallel lies in that coins, sculptures and classical poets enshrine in their respective ways and ideals, aspiration and notable events, customs and practices of the community and of the prevalent culture. As Mr. Sivaramamurthi himself points out in respect of ‘Kākapakṣa’ and the use of elephant and umbrella by kings, Rāmāyaṇa refers to them and Kālidāsa has only described them in greater detail. The Aśvamedha coins also commemorate the performance of that sacrifice which is as old as the Vedas and do not obviously derive interpretation from Kālidāsa. In other instances, however, obscure symbols on coins are cleared by a

study of passages in Kālidāsa's poems; for example, Samudragupta with the lyre, Candragupta with the lotus, and the text about "winning the heaven with good deeds".

The author can rightly claim, to this extent, that the study of coins is the more fascinating, if we attempt to understand them with the help of literary parallels. We commend this brochure for intellectual brilliance and novelty of treatment.

A. V. R.

The Ethical Philosophy of the Gita. By P. N. Srinivasachari, M.A.
Published by Sri Krishna Library, Mylapore, Madras. Price Rs. 2-0-0.

The Philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita. By P. N. Srinivasachari, M.A.
The Adyar Library Series No. 39. Published by the Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras. Price Rs. 10-0-0.

A distinguished Professor of Philosophy in the Madras University and Ex-Principal of the Pachaiappa's College, Madras, the author is an authority on the Viśiṣṭādvaita system of philosophy. He has dealt with many intriguing problems, such as Rāmānujā's Idea of the Finite Self, Philosophy of Bhedhābedha, Studies in Vedānta, Synthetic view of Vedānta and the Philosophy of the Beautiful. Of the two books which are reviewed here, the *Ethical Philosophy of the Gita* is dedicated to his loved ones, P. Sankaranarayan and D. Ramaswami. The author dealt with the subject first in the form of lectures under the auspices of the Madras University. He expound the Gīta in the light of the Viśiṣṭādvaita systems, by adopting the Western methods of critical enquiry. If the Upaniṣads enshrine the institutions of Brahman and the Vedānta Sūtras establish their metaphysical basis, the Gita brings out the essentials of the ethical religion of the Upaniṣads and dispels the misconception that Vedānta does not stress the moral values of experience. The teachings inculcated in the Gīta are expounded in different ways by different scholars but all expositions lead to the religion of the self, a recommendation of the practical value of experience. Man is, after all, governed by the environments which surround him and he is an instrument of God's destiny on earth.

God manifests himself in diverse ways and forms through his instrument (man). Whether or not the Vedānta is a religion of universal redemption, Śrī Kṛṣṇa summons humanity (heavily laden with ignorance, evil and sorrow) to respond to the call of love and attain the eternal bliss of *mukti*. The Gīta furnishes the moral and spiritual discipline in the conduct of the daily life of man which is so essential for a proper appreciation of the divine and the realisation of Him or the self. Mr. Srinivasachari does not believe Gīta to be an allegory or the creation of the Ethistic man identifying Kṛṣṇa with Vāsudeva. The law of righteousness is rooted in redemptive love. The object of divine descent is not merely the redemption of the wicked man from his career of sin but is a communion with God of the *jñāni* or the mystic who pines away owing to the agony of separation from the Supreme self. The Gīta sings the glory of God becoming man without losing His divinity and man's ascent to Godhood by the paths of *karma*, *jñāna* and *bhakti* *gōgas*.

The Philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita was placed at the feet of Sri Rāmānujā at the shrine dedicated to him in his birthplace, Sriperumbudur during the annual pre-birthday celebrations on 7th May 1943 and published on his birthday, 8th May 1943. It is dedicated to Śrī Mahārāja Rao Venkata Kumara Mahipathi Surya Rau Bahadur, D. Litt., Mahārāja of Pithapuram. It gives a comprehensive and critical exposition of the central features of the philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita and its relation to the other schools of Vedānta. The Viśiṣṭādvaita system of philosophy is not identical with the Bhedābheda system of Nimbarka or the Hegelian thought as expounded by some expositors. In 1928, with a view to set the balance right so far as the influence of Viśiṣṭādvaita on modern thought was concerned and to do justice to Viśiṣṭādvaita the author published a book on Rāmānuja's Idea of the Finite Self. The author's book on Bhedābheda Philosophy also furnished an exhaustive introduction to the study of Rāmānuja. The development of this was system in the history of Indian Philosophy since outlined in a series of eight lectures originally delivered by the author under the auspices of the University of Madras. According to Professor Srinivasachari the Viśiṣṭādvaita system reconciles revelation, reason and intuition.

It is universal and accepts whatever is co-herent with its cardinal truths. It summons humanity to participate in the riches of *Brahmānubhava* (the experience of *Brahman*) and its spiritual hospitality knows no geographical or racial barriers. Chapter II of the work deals with the Theory of Knowledge. *Avidya* and *adhyāsa* lead to agnosticism and scepticism. If *Brahman* is ever self-realised, there is no need for a philosophy to expound it. If *Brahman* cannot be the object of knowledge, it cannot be sought by the *mumukṣu*. If whatever is knowable is false, *Brahman* is also false and Rāmānuja says from the stand-point of the pure consciousness everything is false from the monistic theory because of the falsity of the *śāstras* themselves. Hence philosophy is to be reconstructed in terms of *satkhyāti* or *yatarthakhyāti* which affirms that what exists or the *sat* alone is real. Reality is always *saṁvīśa* and not *nirvīśa* and in apprehending a thing as it is we also comprehend what it is. Thus by knowing the one we know the many and by knowing the many we know the one that is changeless and Eternal which ultimately connotes *Brahman*; and as *Brahman* is the real, the world is also real and true. *Avidya* is therefore nothing else than *karma* and *jīva* freed from *avidya-karma* sees all things in *Brahman* and *Brahman* in all things. In this review it is not possible to detail the various theories and discussions which are referred to by the author, particularly *Brahman* as *ādihāra* and *nitya*, as a ruler and redeemer: as *śeṣi* and the beautiful and as the *śarīrin*. Cosmology is dealt with in chapter X and the psychology of the *jīva* in chapter XI. In Chapter XVI we are told that *prapatti* is a *Brahmavidya*. The love of God becomes, in course of time, a thirst for communion and *parābhakti* deepens into *parañāna*; and *parañāna* results in *paramabhakti* or supreme devotion and becomes irresistible. *Bhakti* has its consummation in *mukti* (the attainment of the eternal bliss of *Brahman*). The alternative is *prapatti* provided for the weak and infirm as demonstrated by Vedānta Deśika, the chief apostle of Viśiṣṭadvaita is the manner of Rāmānuja. The Theory of Knowledge is the Theory of reality and thus leads to ontology. To apprehend that *Brahman* is, is to comprehend what He is, and therefore *Brahman* is *saṁguṇa*, and is

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defined as real Reality, *satyasya satyam*, the inner subject of all thinking beings and the ever blissful. *Bhakti* consists in changing self-centredness into God-centredness and turning the mind from sensuality into spiritual love of God as the Self of all beings.

Professor Srinivasachari examines the main charges levelled against the Viśiṣṭādvaita system of Philosophy and tries to meet them in the course of this work. The chief difficulty in Viśiṣṭādvaita is the apparent contradiction between the finite-self and its all-pervading attributive consciousness. Rāmānuja explains it by the sūtra analogy of the lamp and its luminosity. There is the same divinity in the atom as in the stellar space. The following are a few of the inherent defects of the Viśiṣṭādvaita system. The ethical problems either determined by *prakṛti* and the *guṇas* or are controlled by the will of God. One is thus caught between the horns of fatalism and divine determinism. This defect is tried to be removed by pointing to a third alternative, namely, the freedom of the self on the moral level.

As a system of theistic monism which tries to mediate between theism and monism, Viśiṣṭādvaita shares the defects of both without having the advantages of either. As a system of philosophy it is not consistent with itself. In theory it is non dualistic and in practice theistic. Viśiṣṭādvaita is as hostile to Bhedābheda as *advaita*, in view of the absurdity of the Bhedābheda assertions of the co-extensiveness of contradictories. Its great defect is the prediction of evil to divine nature. The most inspiring feature of Viśiṣṭādvaita however, is its definition of God as love and love mediates between thought and will by inspiring the former and illuminating the latter, and, guided by love, the pluralist and the monist go hand in hand without being at arm's length.

The claim of Vedānta to universality rests on the liberal interpretation of its essentials and the emphasis on the points of agreement and not on those of divergence. Viśiṣṭādvaita offers a basis for such a rapprochement. On the analogy of the Kantian distinction between pure reason and practical reason and the mathematical and ethical methods of Spinoza, difference can be drawn between the pure *advaita* of the *māyāvādin* which employs

the principle of *adhyāsa* and sublation in establishing the philosophy of identity and the practical *advaita* of the *Brahmavādin* which accepts the reality of the world and the unitive consciousness by moral and spiritual discipline. All philosophies and religions meet in Vedānta and work hand in hand for the uplift of humanity and the establishment of the spiritual kinship of all *jīvas* including the sub-human species. The Vedāntin is not a conservative that adores the past nor a progressivist that looks forward. He is a philosopher who seeks the Eternal One in and beyond the temporal, who sees Him directly and who works for universal salvation. The Gita as the quintessence of Vedāntic wisdom brings out this inspiring message in the immortal words of the Lord: "Whoever with true devotion worships any deity, in him I deepen that devotion and he ultimately reaches me" and "even those who worship other divinities worship me."

S. S.

Vadāvali by Jayatīrtha with English translation by P. Nagaraja Rao. The Adyar Library Series No. 40. Price Rs. 4-0-0.

JAYATĪRTHA (Tikācārya) is admittedly the greatest exponent of Madhva's philosophy. The work before us takes the most important problem on which the Advaitins and the Dvaitins differ fundamentally, namely, the reality or the illusoriness of difference in the universe. The editing and translation was undertaken by the editor when he was a Research Fellow in the Department of Philosophy in the University of Madras. The translation of the highly dialectical work in terse language has been rendered with remarkable clarity. The learned notes appended to the translation form almost an independent work and help to explain the arguments for and against each position in the text. We do not propose to review the contents. The central doctrine of the Advaitin is the illusory nature of this universe. This rests on two postulates: (i) the absolutely real is never sublated and (ii) the absolutely unreal is never cognised. The world of plurality is temporarily sublated in deep sleep; it is cognised when awake. It

is indeterminable, *anirvacaniya* (अनिर्वचनीय) in nature. Vādāvali attacks this position. It is argued that there is no middle ground between reality and unreality, viz, indeterminability. The position taken in Nyāyamakaraṇḍa of Ānandabhoḍa, and Tattva-pradīpikā of Chitsukha are attacked by Jayatīrtha, but later Advaita exponents have met these arguments in their works: Bhedaḍhikāra of Nṛsiṃhasvamin, Advaitamukura of Raṅgarāja, and Advaitasiddhi of Maḍhusūdhana Sarasvatī. The limitations of the argument will be apparent from one instance. Para 241. Advaitins "means of valid knowledge like perception etc. are not admitted as making known reality." प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणानां तत्त्ववेदकतान्म्युपगमात् । Dvaitins "There is no authority in respect of means of valid knowledge like perception making known (only) the non-real" प्रत्यक्षादि प्रमाणानामतत्त्ववेदकत्वे मानाभावात् ॥ In respect of the translation, we would like to urge greater exactitude in terminology. For example in para 4 विकल्प is translated as 'analysis' and अनिर्वचनीयत्वं "being indeterminable", but in para 146 अनिर्वचनीयत्वं is translated into "Indeterminate nature."

A.V.R.

The Heritage of Karnāṭaka (In Relation to India) by R. S. Mugali, M.A., B.T. Published by the Satyashodhana Publishing House, Fort, Bangalore City. Price Rs. 4-0-0, Ordinary Edition: Rs. 5/-, Library Edition.

MR. MUGALI'S book on The Heritage of Karnāṭaka is a very interesting and welcome contribution to the study of Indian Culture. The ancient Karnāṭaka included Mysore, Banavāsi and Northern Karnāṭaka and our knowledge of it goes back to the third century A. D. or the early Centuries of the Christian Era at least. It is difficult to agree with many of the 'statements' but that regarding the Kannada language and its antiquity is nevertheless well established. The pilgrimage of Candragupta with his Jaina guru Bhadrabāhu into the Kannada country has furnished a literary beginning. The story of Śravaṇabelogala, the various dynasties which inherited and ruled over the Kannada country are in brief review along with the political vicissitudes which attended it; and now the centre of the Karnāṭaka is in Mysore to which, perhaps, the out-lying Kannada parts would have to look if the unification of Karnāṭaka should be a dream realised. We congratulate Mr. Mugali on his excellent work concerning the glory of Karnāṭaka.

S. S.

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CERTAIN BASIC PRINCIPLES IN INDIAN TEMPLE
ARCHITECTURE

BY P. SAMA RAO, B.A., B.L.

ARCHITECTURE means and includes any edifices built of the materials locally available for the housing of Gods, men and their religious saints; sometimes they are the monuments of memorable historic events and mausoleums of the cherished dead. There are characteristic differences in the form and style according to the purposes for which they were meant.

The Hindu was a philosopher first and an artist next. He regulated his entire life into securing spiritual benefit for his soul. So he directed himself to the pleasure of his household God, whom he considered as the representative of the Universal One. That way he was extremely religious and unsecular. This unshakable belief in the Divinity determined his art and outlook on life. The resultant quality of his productions was immaterial and never troubled him. He believed in Sukracharya's injunction, "Better an awkward divinity rather than a pretty personality" as his art ideal. His ideal life consisted of sacrifices that formed the essence of his artistic endeavour. His art was therefore executed

on a dedication of his *Iṣṭadēvata* who acted as a mediator, as it were, between him and the Universal Spirit. Therefore, all Indian art was generally anonymous. But although the artist's name is not available for cherishing him in our memory, his work has survived to evidence his devoutness, sacrifice and endeavour to reach the God-head. The artists that sculptured the Elephanta, the Ellora, the Sānchi gates and the railings at Amarāvati, and painted the frescos at Ajantā, Bāgh and Siguriya must have partaken the very qualities of their gods for the attainment of that perfection that is in them. Browning in an oriental vein celebrates this annihilation in his Apt Vogler. Ethel Mannin's 'Pilgrims' and 'Ragged Banners' elucidate this principle of sacrifice in the form of Novel. Ruskin attributes the inferiority of modern productions to artist's faithless relationship to God :

" We treat God with irreverence by banishing Him from our thoughts, not by referring to His will on slight occasions. There is nothing so small but that we may honour God by asking His guidance of it or insult Him by taking it into our own hands ; and what is true of the Deity is equally true of His revelation..... The snow, the vapour, and the stormy wind fulfil His word. Are our acts and thoughts lighter and wilder than these—that we should forget it ? "

Hindu spiritual texts like the Agni Purāṇa advocate the invocation of the *Iṣṭadēvata* for guidance before any piece of art is undertaken. Classical poets like Milton, Homer, Euripedes etc. often resorted to this invocation. It becomes fruitful of good only when the deity is adored in a spirit of perfection, His very own. That is why it is declared that in order that Visvakarman's designs may be fully reflected in their purity in the artist's mind, it has to be like a perfect mirror. It can never attain that perfection unless and until it becomes perfectly detached in that static harmonious equilibrium of its own, which in the language of the Gita, is compared to a flame burning steadily in a windless night.

" *Dēvō bhūtvā dēvam yājet* " (become God to worship God) must be the artist's everyday principle. Thus the artist becomes

but a vehicle or channel for the passage of ideas from a divine world to this physical earth.

The psychology of an artist's mind is correctly set out in an earlier Upaniṣad: (*cf.* *Bṛihadāraṇyaka.*)

“For just as one who dallies with a beloved wife has no consciousness of outer or inner, so the spirit also, dallying with the self, whose essence is knowledge, has no consciousness of outer or inner.”

Sculpture and painting are often the necessary adjuncts to Indian Temple Architecture. No Indian temple worthy of notice has dispensed with either, and in its excellent example both are found. A temple was deemed a limited universe over which the All-Comprehensive presided, having made it His earthly home. So all emotions irrespective of their quality were depicted, and all curios, in the shape of manuscripts, books, and ritualistic materials housed therein. Since God is everyone's property his house, the temple, formed a public resort for self instruction and edification. Most ancient manuscripts and historical curios are thus to be found in the Buddhist monasteries in the Himālayas. The temple was therefore the public museum, and the public school in ancient days. But the sculpture and paintings prescribed for decorative purposes for human habitations were limited in scope of subject-matter. A human dwelling must perforce be a heaven of peace and goodwill. So disruptive emotions such as grief, anger, envy, fear, etc. were expressly prohibited depiction by Hindu texts. Construction of turrets or domes were also forbidden, perhaps, for the reason they were considered appropriate only to temples, which were the dwelling houses of gods. But their existence in the Hindu palaces at Udaipur, Gwalior, Jeypore etc. may be the outcome of the Hindu belief that the king was a viceroy of God, and on that account permitted to have them.

In thinking of Indian architecture one cannot forget the ideals the architect sets before himself. He strove to become another Viśvakarma. In both the religious and secular there was an imitation of heavenly patterns. Lanka as well as Ayodhya are

said to have been fashioned by him after the heavenly cities. It is alluded to in the *Mahābhārata* that Viśvakarma himself had designed and built the illusory palace of the Pāṇḍavas which humiliated Suyodhana at the Rājasuya Yagam. With this ideal of a heavenly city before them, it is no wonder that people built temples at fabulous cost and energy, stunningly extravagant in the eyes of the mercenary western-minded. Steeped in Vedic lore, and brimful of the spirit of sacrifice, nothing seemed sufficient or adequate in their pursuit to please their gods, who were the bestowers of all happiness and prosperity. Even according to Ruskin, it is this sacrifice that pleased God most and secured tenfold blessings in return. Much more than the cost and labour, it is this sacrifice and spirit of love that is the basis of the Tāj, a Love's Dream fashioned out of marble. Ruskin reasons out:

“And the less valuable offering was rejected, not because it did not image christ, nor fulfil the purposes of sacrifice, but because it indicated a feeling that would grudge the best of its possessions to Him who gave them; and because it was a bold dishonouring of God in the sight of man. Whence it may be infallibly concluded that in whatever offerings we may now see reason to present unto God, a condition of their acceptableness will be now as it was then, that they should be the best of their kind.



“And let us not now lose sight of this broad and unabrogated principle—I might say, incapable of being abrogated, so long as men receive earthly gifts from God. Of all that they have, His tithe must be rendered to Him, or in so far as and in so much He is forgotten; of the skill and of the treasure, of the strength and of the mind, of the time and of the toil, offering must be made reverently; . . . There can be no excuse accepted because the Deity does not now visibly dwell in His temple; if He is invisible it is only through our failing faith; nor any excuse because other calls are more immediate or more sacred; this ought to be done, and not the other left undone.”

Indian Temple Architecture may be divided primarily, according to style, into (a) The Indo-Āryan or the Āryāvartha, (b) The Dravidian, and (c) The Cālukyan or the Hoysala, the hybrid of (a) and (b). Geographically the Indo-Āryan prevailed in Northern India, while the other two in Southern India. The third classification obtainable in the Deccan and in Mysore State sprang into existence in the eleventh century A.D. and achieved its best results by the end of the thirteenth century. Charming vestiges of this style could be seen in their perfect examples at Halebid, Belur and Somanāthapur. Its distinctive features are star-designed or polygonal high plinths, and overmassing of decorative sculpture all around the superstructure. There is also this conspicuous absence of any tall tower over the Holy of the Holies, as in other styles.

The Āryāvartha Style. Although Hinduism is older than and is the original of Buddhism, it did not express itself in the form of stone temples till Buddhism having taken on its Mahāyāna phase began to decay. In the active rivalry to over-reach and eclipse each other Hindu temples came into existence. Historically the Buddhists were the 'first Indian builders and carvers in stone.' The original Āryans who swarmed Hindustan were not a stationary horde. They were ever on the move for fresh pastures for their cattle. They had therefore neither the incentive nor any desire to perpetuate their gods or provide any earthly homes for them in stone. But on the advent of Buddhism monasteries or caityas had to be built for the housing of the monks and enshrining the remains of Buddha which were believed to be efficacious in curing physical ills. Further, Buddhism had a better spell and attraction for the commonality than Hinduism which had been advocating mostly *Jñāna mārga* for the attainment of *Mukti*. The beginnings of any Indo-Āryan stone architecture that have survived from the pre-Christian era are the dolmens which may safely be said to be the fore-runners of the elaborated Buddhist caityas or halls. But on the sprouting of Buddhism and its desire to eclipse Hinduism, the architectural forms improved into two types, namely, the *Vimāna* and the *Stupa*. These had their beginnings in the easily-to-be moulded brick structures. *Vide*, the Tomb at Sānci dated about

the fifth Century A.D. As time went on, the architecture or rather the carvings on or out of stone became close translations of their wooden prototypes. The toraṇams and railings at Sanchi and Amarāvathi are the best examples that way. The railings, simple and pure, not any necessary adjuncts to architecture but were provided in the belief that they were efficacious in warding off evil spirits from trespassing into the holy precincts. The Āryāvartha style was evolved from the Buddhistic stupa while the Dravidian from the Buddhistic monastery or the caitya pattern.

The Indo-Āryan temple consists essentially of a rectangular cell which enshrines the image, and a curvilinear steeple or tower with vertical ribs by which it is surmounted. A porch or a nave is generally added in front of the doorway of the cell, but this is not essential. The Sikharā is capped with an Āmalaka or a huge ribbed stone "of flattened circular cushion form, with a stone vase above it". In lay tongue, some of these Indo-Āryan temples are called pagodas. Brick temple at Bhotagan (4th. C), Vaiṣṇava temple at Aihole (7th. C), Parasurām and Mukteswar temples at Bhuvaneśvar (7th to 8th C), Khajuraho temples (10. C.) Puri temple (12th. C), the Jain Temple at Mount Abu (10th. C), and the monolithic Jain towers of victory dated about the 15th C. are the best examples of this kind.

The Dravidian Style. In the Dravidian style the distinguishing feature is its great tower, which is horizontally divided into terraces and "capped over by a roof of either the barrel form of the old caitya type or a globular dome." The *kalāsams* are either of the umbrella or of the spherical form. The dome is usually ribbed in imitation of the elastic bent bamboo, and is designed in the form of either an "inverted lotus moulding or calyx beneath." These designs are symbolic of *S'anthi* (Peace) and perfection. The earliest examples of this style are the Rathas at Mamallapuram (7th C). The rock-cut temples at Ellora belong to the later half of the eighth Century together with the equally beautiful Jain Indra Sabha, therein.

The Dravidian temple architecture entered into a second phase about the middle of the fourteenth Century. It became elaborated

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into close imitation of the earlier wooden forms. The most characteristic feature of this improvement resulted in pillared halls (open caves as at Vellore) or separate choultries or mantapas round about the main shrine. The tempels at Madura and Ramesvaram, are the best examples of this type. The halls are roofed over with horizontal slabs of stone, and have most elegant cornices with a 'double flexure, supported on delicate pseudo-wooden transoms'; the pillars though monolithic are often of compound design, and may be combined with figures of yālis, rearing horses, Gods or S'aktis, warriors, dancing girls and other motifs. This style culminate at Hampi (Vizanagara) and Tadpatri in the sixteenth century.

But there is, however, an isolated style of temple building in Kashmir (8th to 13th C.) which is patly derived from the western classical models. This is the Gothic style with pointed arches. The temple of the Sun at Marthand built by Lalitāditya in the second century is the unique instance of this gothic pattern. This style has not however survived in Kashmir as the later examples were mostly influenced by Musulman architecture. But in Nepal, a sister Himalayan province, the old Buddhistic traditions seem to have been rigorously kept up even to the present day.

What is said of the Western Church architects by Ruskin is truer of the Indian builders and artists :

“They have taken with them to the grave, their powers
their honours, and their errors; but they have left us
their admiration.”

These Indian architects, sculptors and painters having grasped like Hokusai the mystery of things, must be deemed milestones on the onward march of humanity to Eternity.

KARMA AND REINCARNATION IN CLASSICAL SANSKRIT LITERATURE*

BY H. G. NARAHARI, M.A., M.LITT.

IT cannot be said of the Classical Sanskrit texts that they are quite unaware of the regular theory of Karma clearly mentioned for the first time in the older Upaniṣads and adopted later by the Epics, Purāṇas and all subsequent literature in India. Full knowledge of it is clearly shown on occasions too numerous to count. Speaking of Dilipa in the *Raghuvamśa*, Kālidāsa says that his endeavours could be inferred by their results as antenatal impressions are by their consequences in this birth (*phalānumeyāḥ prārambhās saṁskāraḥ prāktānāḥ iva*)¹. If Indumati died premature, it was because, in her previous existence, she, induced by Indra, had disturbed the penance of the sage Tṛishanku who cursed her for her intrusion;² and, when abandoned by Rāma, Sītā curses herself saying that her misfortune came out of her own misdeeds in the past (*janmāntarapātakānāṁ vipākah*)³. That Śakuntalā was repudiated by Duṣyanta was only the fruition of her own bad conduct in the past (*suariṣṭapadibandham purākidān tesu diahesu pariṇāmāhimuham asi*)⁴. So also Māgha lays down that actions are followed by results (*kriyāphalāniva samānti bhājām*),⁵ and that in the fall of a fool there is no other agency but his own vice (*nijadoṣeṇa kudhīr vinasatyati*).⁶

Yet it is not infrequently that the law of Karma is seen in these texts to remain no longer an iron law and a good number of methods are pointed out whereby escape is sought from what is otherwise deemed inevitable. To get rid of one's sins it does not

* Paper read at the XIII All-India Oriental Conference, Nagpur. October, 1946.

1. *Raghuvamśa*, 1—20.
2. *Ibid.* VIII, 80—82.
3. *Ibid.* XIV, 62.
4. *Abhijñanasakuntala*, Act. VII.
5. *S'is'upālavadha*, III. 26.
6. *Ibid.* XVI, 35.

always seem to be necessary to work out their penalty. The sight of the holy as well as the grace of the God destroy sin. The other gods who had gone to Viṣṇu with the request that he should devise means of freeing them from the ravages of Rāvaṇa tell him that He is there only to favour and bless humanity (*lokānugraha evaiko-hetuste janmakarmaṇāḥ*),⁷ that even if one remembers Him, the man is purified (*kevalam smaraṇenaiva punāsi puruṣam*),⁸ and that He can bring about freedom from rebirth (*abhyāyas sannivṛt-taye*).⁹ That Ahalyā was able to regain her human form by the very touch of Rāma's feet proves the same thing.¹⁰ The same idea of the grace of God purifying one from sin prevails also in Māgha where we are told that the sight of the holy destroys sin. When Nārada comes on a visit to Śrī Kṛṣṇa, living in Vasudeva's house, the latter tells him¹¹.

हरत्यघं संप्रात हेतुरेप्यतः शुभस्य पूर्वाचरितैः कृतं शुभैः ।
शरीरभाजां भवदीयदर्शनं व्यनक्ति कालवितत्येऽपि योग्यताम् ॥
विलोकनेनैव तवामुना मुने
कृतः कृतार्थोऽस्मि निबार्हितां हसा ॥

Holy places also seem to have the power of purifying people. We thus read of Duṣyanta hoping to purifying himself by visiting the sacred hermitage of Kaṇva (*punṇyāśramadarsanena tāvadātma-nam punīmahe*)¹² and in the *Sisupālavadha*¹³ the waters of the Yamunā are said to possess the power of taking away the sins of the bather therein.

The idea of transference of sin from one to another also prevails in this literature. The faults of the subjects fall on the King, and his own misdeeds mean absence of material prosperity

7. *Raghuvamśa*, X, 31.

8. *Ibid.* X, 29.

9. *Ibid.* X, 27; cf. *S'is'upālavadha*, XIX, 86.

10. *Raghuvamśa*, XI, 33—34.

11. *S'is'upālavadha*, I, 26, 29.

12. *Abhijñānasākuntala* Act. I.

13. *S'is'upālavadha*, XII, 67.

in the state. Duṣyanta who has to be thus vigilant of the activities of his subjects complains that, with the misery brought on him by Śakuntalā being taken away from him, he is absent-minded and unable to attend to his duty (*prajāsu kaḥ kena pathā prayātityasēṣato veditumasti saktih*);¹⁴ and when he hears that there is a message from Kaṇva to him, he wonders whether through his misdeeds, the creepers and trees in the penance-grove of Kaṇva have stopped putting forth flowers and fruits (*āhosvit prasavomamāpacaritair viṣṭambhito vīrudhām*).¹⁵

The rare phenomenon of manifold punishment for a sin once committed, the sinner reaping the consequences in all succeeding lives, which we find in the *Mahābhārata*¹⁶ seems to recur even in the classics as, for instance, we read of Śiśupālā,¹⁷ opponent of Kṛṣṇa, following him from two earlier incarnations, as Hiranya-kaśipu when he was Nṛsimha and as Rāvaṇa when he was Rāma.

Other beliefs in this literature are that the tie of husband and wife is unbreakable even after death and that the wife follows the husband in all births,¹⁸ that, to go to heaven one need no change the present body as in the case of Dilīpa and Duṣyanta who went all the way to heaven to help Indra in his battles,¹⁹ and that even those who can claim no special ethical right can go away to the other world never to return as in the case of Indumati who, Aja felt, went away from him to heaven never to come back (*paralokamasannivṛttaye gatū*).²⁰ Perhaps the most refreshing of the modifications we find in classical literature is the effort made

14. *Abhijñānas'akuntala* Act. VI.

15. *Ibid.* Act. V. Verse 9.

16. See my paper *Karma and Reincarnation in the Mahābhārata*, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona. Vol. XXVII Pp. 102-113.

17. *S'is'upālavadha*, I. 48, 49, 68, 69.

18. *Ibid.* I. 72; XVIII, 60—61.

19. *Raghuvamś'a*, I. 75 ff; *Abhijñānas'akuntala*, Act VI.

20. *Raghuvamś'a*, VIII, 49; this may be a remark of Aja while in acute distress and despair, but is nevertheless true to life. In spite of our belief in the theory of Karma we cannot recognise in ordinary life our relatives in an earlier incarnation.

quite often to minimise the terrors of destiny whose power we are told often is either equal to human effort or even less than it.²¹ The idea is very prevalent in the anthologies which eulogise both. It should be of interest in this context to note a late work on grammar, called *Daiva*²² which has a commentary called *puruṣa-kāra*. The work actually derives its name from its author whose name is *Deva*; but the commentator tries a pun in giving peculiar name to his gloss. His idea appears to be that even as his commentary is essential for understanding the text, so also in all enterprises fate and human effort go hand in hand.

21. *S'is'upalavadha* 11, 86, 32; *Abhijnānas'akuntala*, Act I, Act IV etc.

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RIGVEDIC THEORY OF INSPIRATION

BY P. S. SHASTRI, M.A.

PHILOSOPHY, Fine Arts, and Religion—truth, beauty, and goodness—are the three branches of culture. Philosophy supplies the dialectic and the rationale of the other two. Poetry is the essence of Fine Art, in that it has all the elements of the other arts in it. Religion is the creation of poetry. Poetry universalises our ideas, sustains our imagination and expands our personality to such a degree that we lose ourselves in it. It is the imaginative interpretation of life, and hence of morals. The poetic spirit is receptive, takes up the empirical and transmutes it into the transcendental.

Pure poetry enkindles us completely, inducing a kind of supreme consciousness, where we become intensely conscious of life and reality. It 'illumines the darkest recesses of human experience',¹ for it is the translation of a vision.

The vision cannot be reproduced faithfully, as it is too big to be restricted in the cloathing of language. It escapes the human grasp and we have only an inkling of it in great poetry. 'An atmosphere of infinite suggestion hovers round the best poetry', to carry us away from the part to the whole. It is the unity of impression, that suggests and carries us beyond. And in this total impression we have the 'satisfying imaginative experience';² we find our true essence, for 'the general substance of poetry is absolutely identical with that of moral life and action, of other arts, and of the higher kinds of philosophy'.³

The poet experiences a vision and gives us a nearest approach to it. This vision does not come whenever he wants it and hence

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1. A. C. Bradley: "Inspiration" included in 'A Miscellany.' The main theory of Inspiration as expounded here, owes its central doctrine to this lecture of A. C. Bradley, and to the same author's "Poetry for Poetry's sake" included in his Oxford lectures on Poetry.
 2. A. C. Bradley: "Poetry for Poetry's sake".
 3. *Ibid.*

arises a lot of difference between poems composed under the stress of inspiration, and those done otherwise. Wordsworth offers a classic example of this. This experience of the vision is beyond the finite consciousness of the individual, a being 'occupying a given position in space and time, and having feelings and desires due to that position.'⁴ It is non-spatial and non-temporal alike. 'It comes we know not whence. It will not speak at our bidding, nor answer in our language. It is not our servant; it is our master.'⁵ Yet we feel our true self in it. This concrete individuality constitutes the essence of the poetic spirit.

The poet is a *Krānta darśi*. He sees into the inner life of things, and familiarises the unfamiliar. Keen and penetrating observation, finer and more delicate susceptibility, and vivid imagination aided by boldness and simplicity of utterance are some of the supreme gifts of a poet. Everything the poet observes or experiences passes through and is winnowed by imagination, and a translation of the vision is revealed to us.

The seer understands with excellent comprehension the praise that is addressed to the God—"Ṛṣiḥ Stoma Ciketa vāmayā" (8.9.7). He sees the hymn in his vision—"Yuvābhyām prati stomā adṛkṣata" (8.5.). The purpose of the poet is to be a medium of uttering these visions—"Kaviḥ gīrbhiḥ Kāvyeṇā Kaviḥ san" (9.96.17.). Imaginative and descriptive touches to the revealed vision are expressed in the poems. Since he has the direct apprehension of reality, and since he finds his truest self in it when he is inspired, he is able to universalise his self and experience everything. He can place himself in the situation of any other. In short, a poet has no individual personality of his own, but that of the greater and the truer self, that can comprehend all—"Kaviḥ Kāvyeṇāsi Viśvavit" (X.91.3.). He has a finer and truer feeling, and a deeper vision. He becomes a poet precisely because he can discern the Ideal world under and within the Actual. The eye and the heart govern his existence, besides the vigour of a resolute force. So he is enabled to speak to men with power by being more a man

4. A. C. Bradley; "Poetry for Poetry's sake".

5. *Ibid.*

than the rest. It is the inspiration that gives him the power, the strength, and the intensity. It carries the stamp of authority with it. The soul of man makes its lofty presence felt everywhere. Every word, every idea, breathes the vital chord, the life as it were. It is the greater or the truer vital principle that speaks to others through the medium of poetry or any other species of art. Being possessed of the super-human power, the great poet feels he is being dictated. Certain inaudible sounds enter his cavity and slowly does he clothe them in a language. Hence, it is that all great art is revelation, a release of the latent and the hidden. The latent opens fresh vistas, a peep into which brings to light innumerable strange affairs. Inspiration being aided by *pratibhā*, *Vyutpatti* and *abhyāsa*—genius, talent and exercise—set free the infinite lustres of an unknown region.

Poetry is revelation. The primary gift of a poet is the supreme faculty of perceiving vividly, what others do not. Tauta Bhaṭṭa observes,

“*Nānṛṣiḥ Kavir ity uktam, Rṣiḥ ca kila darśanāt
Vicitra bhāva dharmaṇā, tattva prakhyāca darśanam
Sa tattva darśanād eva śāstreṣu paṭh itaḥ Kaviḥ
Darśanād varnanāc cātha rūdhā loke kavi sṛutiḥ*”.

The poet directly, here and now, apprehends reality, and when it passes through imagination and presented to us, it becomes poetry.

This apprehension is largely due to the mysterious influence of inspiration. “It is a divine manifestation, the manifestation of a spiritual being, at once the source and the perfection of nature and humanity.”⁶ It dawns upon the poet and is given to him. So it is separate and distinct from the poet. But the poet feels himself at home and most happy when he is under its spell. He is active in it and finds complete satisfaction then. We cannot attribute it to the individual, for it is given, and in it he loses himself and finds his true self. This is the actual standpoint of poetry and of religion.

6. “Inspiration” *Op. Cit.*

Ancient Hindu thinkers troubled themselves immensely, while discussing whether the Vedas were *Pauruṣeya* or *Apauruṣeya*. It was a purely theological affair in their hands. But the *apauruṣeyatva* of the Veda must have been once an aesthetic idea, besides many other *mīmāṃsāic* concepts.⁷

“When a man has an idea and if he finds the proper language to express that idea, then that statement is a *pauruṣeya* one; for he alone is responsible for it. The striving on the part of the individual himself, particularises it and binds it in spatial and temporal regions. But when a person in his poetic vision sees some thing, clothed in a language, and expresses that idea in those very words, then that statement really transcends the person's intellect. The poet is only a medium, not the author of that revelation. It is only a poet that can vision a poetic thing and express poetry. Thus from the point of view of true aesthetic doctrine, the poet is not the author. What a poet says transcends him and his limitations.” It is “*puruṣa prayatnam vinā prakatī bhūta*”, as the Advaitin interprets. This is due to the transcendental nature of inspiration.

‘At a later time, there was an attempt at establishing the Vedas as of non-human origin from a purely intellectual point of view, when the idea of the Vedic texts being art had ceased to influence them. As a matter of fact, at this later time, no one who dealt with the Vedic literature as the authority on dharma or truth, worried himself about Ṛgveda and Atharvaṇaveda, which can be called real art. They dealt only with the Yajurveda texts, the Brāhmaṇas and some catch phrases in the Upaniṣads. What came down as real art, as real poetry transcending the limitations of the poet's intellect ceased to be of much interest, and came in into the controversy only in so far as the entire literature inherited from that age had to be taken as a single unit. Thus what mattered

7. The theory of *apauruṣeyatva* and of the regularity of *Varṇa* and other Kramas, have been casually dealt with as referring to aesthetic doctrines in a series of Lectures delivered by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja on ‘Poetic Beauty’ in January 1942

in the controversy was only the *vidhis* and the *niṣedhas*, and the original idea of the superhuman origin of the Veda was lost sight of in this controversy. The fundamental basis itself was changed. From poetry of a high order, the texts became statements about liturgy and metaphysics.

Poetry is a combination of words, ideas, images, sentiments, emotions and many more things. The intrinsic greatness of a poem does not lie in any one of these taken separately, but in their combination, for they are all created in the inspired mood. The total impression counts much: and when anything is altered, the total impression too changes. And as Dr. Bradley observes "we do it wrong, and we defeat our purposes when we try to bend it to them ;

"We do it wrong, being so majestic,
To offer it the show of violence ;
For it is as the air invulnerable,
And our vain blows malicious mockery."

"It is a spirit".⁸ It refuses to be amended or corrected. It is as it is, and we have to take it so. The poet experienced what he had expressed, and expressed what he had experienced. Man is a vision-making animal. Every human being comes across some violent and unforgettable sensations that are forced on him even against his own will. Those connected with Religion, with Ethics, and with Art are some of the wilder ones in these, and they possess a mysterious authoritative tone, as if they were coming from some superhuman spheres. This is more so in the realm of aesthetics. Beauty is merely the spiritual suggesting itself mentally and sensuously.⁹ In all these three spheres of human enterprise "we see reality revealing its personal character. They are parts of a coherent substantial spiritual world."¹⁰ Recejac has the beautiful observation: "If the mind penetrates deeply into the facts of aesthetics, it will find more and more that these

8. Poetry for Poetry's sake.

9. This is an amendment of and improvement over Hegel's dictum. See 'Philosophy of Religion' 2.8.

10. Eucken: *Der Sinn und wert des Lebens* P. 148 Quoted by Miss Evelyn Underhill; *Mysticism* P. 21.

facts are passed upon an ideal identity between the mind itself and things. At a certain point harmony becomes so complete, and the finality so close that it gives us actual emotion. The beautiful then becomes the sublime; living apparition, by which the soul is caught up into the true mystic state, and touches the Absolute. It is scarcely possible to persist in this aesthetic perception without feeling lifted up by it above things and above ourselves in an ontological vision which closely resembles the Absolute of the Mystic." ¹¹ The sense of art carries with it a pleasant feeling to passion, an element of strangeness and terror mingled with an overpowering transcendental joy. A new life breathes into the universe. This apprehension of a deeper reality is revealed to us in a "saving madness" of ecstasy, in the words of Plato. St. Teresa, therefore, observes, "often even the sick come forth from ecstasy healthy and with new strength; for something great is then given to the soul." ¹² The subconscious and the powers that lie there always govern the poet and the mystic, who experience a sudden uprush of intuitions or ideas. They seem as if they "come from beyond"; but this is inspiration; "the opening of the sluices, so that these waters of truth in which all life is bathed may rise to the level of consciousness." ¹³ There is always the three-fold state for the individual in his transcendental vision and experience. There is a sense of the Divine Presence, a lucid vision of the universe, and an automatic activity. In this state there is the apprehension of an undivided unity, and from it spring the sublime works of art. Besides the vision, the individual has at times auditions and voices which are heard only when the mind is in deep absorption without conscious thought. It is this which Wordsworth sang in his lovely lyric over the Daffodils:

"They flash upon the inward eye
Which is the bliss of solitude;
And then my heart with pleasure fills,
And dances with daffodils."

11. Quoted by Miss Evelyn Underhill : P. 21.

12 *Vide* Cap 20, S. 29.

13 Miss E. Underhill P. 63.

This is the "blessed and serene mood", the "vision and faculty divine" which often dawned upon the poet and inspired the lines. There is the irresistible impulse to write as these visions come, and the poet is even made an agent of the utterance. Hence it is that Matthew Arnold observed that Nature not only gave Wordsworth material to write, but also wrote for him. "It is not work, it is listening; it is as if some unknown person were speaking in your ear".¹⁴ Songs of lovely hearing commonly burst up, and the poet is led away in his ecstasy. It is the peculiar characteristic of the poet to receive the revelation, feel it and honour it. Plato recognises in his *Ion*, the divine nature of inspiration, and is emphatic about the superhuman authorship of poetry; "the authors of those great poems do not attain to excellence through the rules of any art, but they utter their beautiful melodies of verse in a state of inspiration, and, as it were, possessed by a spirit not their own..... Every poetis excellent in proportion to the extent of his participation in the divine influence, and the degree in which the muse itself has descended on him..... And thus it appears to me.....that these transcendent poems are not human, as the works of men, but divine, as coming from God." This revelation is "not any external message delivered to man from without but a divine afflatus springing from within, the result of inspiration through God-intoxication."¹⁵ The utterance of such inspired moments has a peculiar symphony that cannot be extended. Great poetry is always, in the words of Coleridge, the best words in the best order. The transcendental vision knows full well "the proper order of utterance and the poet being only the translator cannot meddle with it; nor can the reader and critic. The standard of style is the proper arrangement of words that cannot be displaced. So the rhetoricians define Sayya, "*Yā śabdānām parānyaonya maitrī sayyā*"¹⁶ The various words therein have a peculiar mutual friendship. Neither the words, nor the order of

14. De Musset. Quoted by Presscott, the Poetic Mind, P. 102

15. R. D. Ranade: *Constructive survey of Upaniṣadic Philosophy* P. 9

16. Vidyānātha; *Pratāparudriya*

words, nor the pronunciations and the accent of the Veda can be changed or altered, as the Mīmāṃsakas hold; for it is the revelation of God handed over to man according to them—"dhātāyathā pūrvam akalpayat" 17. These ritualists attach much importance to the letter of the law, rather than to the spirit of the law. The sound is eternal and the deity consequently becomes a simple figurehead in the hands of the syllables. 'In Mīmāṃsa the emphasis is more on the duty of man while he was alive. Its main concern is the problem of moral order in human society, as this alone brings man into relation with the Universe. This law must be supreme, eternal and true to enable men to carry out his rights and duties. The Universe then must conform to law and not to the wishes of a whimsical creator. Law rises above all human and superhuman intelligences. It can be known only from a transcendent *pramāṇa*, namely, Veda. In the actual ritual it is the oblation and the sound that are more important than the deity. The deity is really a matter of words.' The purpose of the Veda is merely to ordain the performance of deeds, and prohibit the undesirable activities. The supreme deity only hands over the Veda that existed in a previous *Kalpa*. As such according to the Mīmāṃsakas the Veda is *apauruṣeya*; and as it is a transcendental book ordering and ordaining law, it cannot be disfigured. The *Advaitins* from the days of Śaṅkara have a very peculiar and quite an original interpretation over the concept of the superhuman origin of the Vedas. They are the source of all knowledge and wisdom, and hence they must originate from Brahman. They have sprung as easily as the breath of man "*Purusa niḥ Svasavad ayatnotihitatvat pramāṇam vedah*".¹⁸ The case in the utterance of the hymns is recognised here. The sacred text is not at all taken to be a document handed over by God, for they define the concept of *apauruṣeyatva* "*Purusa prayatam Vinā prakatibhūta*". It is revealed without any effort on the part

17. R. V. 10.190

18. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja's Introduction to *Nayaviveka of Bhavanatha Mis'ra*.

19. Śaṅkara: *Sūtra Bhaṣya*

of the person concerned. The transcendental vision has come and dictates, as it were, to the poet; and the poet hands it over to us as easily as he can. He is but an agent in the hands of the suprasensible force.

Curiously enough it is Keats who stressed these points in recent days, when he said that poetry should "come" as "naturally" as leaves to a tree; and the truths or ideas that come in this manner are called intuitive, which are claimed by Wordsworth and others to be the highest. It is not of the poet's making, for the truth slides into the soul through that transcendental experience softly and quite easily like sleep. And Browning writes:

"Have I been sure this Christmas Eve,
God's own Hand did the rainbow weave,
Whereby the truth from heaven slid
Into my soul." ²⁰

This intuitive phase is termed dictation by Blake, and its objects are invention, identity and melody. The concept of Revelation implicitly accepts all these three objects, as they are the distinguishing criteria of inspiration. An urge within compels the poet to write, and "when the cry within says go on, then I go on till the longing is less and the good gone", as Gerald Manley Hopkins observes. He has to obey that voice and put down his poetic experience as it wishes him:

"But down drop, if it says stop,
To the all-a-leaf of the tree-top
And after that off the bough." ²¹

Inspiration is a sudden and spontaneous idea. The poet is directly under divine influence. He is possessed by the divine spirit and his emotions are intensely stimulated. It is a purely personal affair, being an inward enlightenment and quickening. It is this conception that makes all great works look transcendental. The greatness varies with the varying degrees of receiving inspiration

20. Christmas Eve

21. The Wood Lark

The fullest receptivity makes the work mystical. The whole Vedic literature, from the *advaitic* standpoint, is a document of mystic importance, a document that will initiate its reader or its student into the secrets and mysteries of Reality. It is not a book of Law here. And quite characteristically does S'ankara observe.

*"S'rautyēdayaḥ anubhavaśca
Yathā sambhavam iha pramāṇam.
Anubhavavasānatvāt brahmajñānasya."*²²

in Brahman-realisation it is not the letter of the sacred scripture that is of prime importance; the actual process of realisation, or in the technical language Feeling, is the essential thing, for the individual has to feel the Absolute, must have the experience of Reality. The Vedic texts are aids in this direction. They record the visions and the experiences of the great poets and seers of yore; and as such they serve as beautiful guides. When once this goal is reached, there is no need of the Vedas. They only suggest and direct our activities in the proper channels. And hence an anonymous *advaitin*, as quoted by S'ankara, observes :

*"Dehātma pratyayo Yadvat
Pramāṇatvena Kalpitaḥ
Laukikam tad vad evedam
Pramāṇam tvā ātma niścayāt "*²³

The mystics are the pioneers of the spiritual word, that have strived to set free the conscious self which is "imprisoned in the body like an oyster in his shell"²⁴. The Veda, which is a record of the seers and poets that have apprehended the Real, initiate us newly to those realms. Then only does one "easily rise out of this world to the sight of true beauty in the other".²⁵ It is thus that the Veda, primarily R̥gveda, is considered in earlier times as a work of art, as an aesthetic record of undying value. The rules that are framed by the Mimāṃsakas as to the unchangeable nature

22. *Vedānta Sūtras* 1.1.2

23. *Vedānta Sūtras* 1.1.4

of the letter of the Veda, are imbedded in superstition, in magic; and magic often poses to be the hand-maid of religion, deceiving people in the name of mysticism. All ceremonial religion contains imperatively some elements of magic. Magic, as Evelyn Underhill sums up, "declares the existence of an imponderable 'medium' or 'Universal agent', which is described as beyond the plane of our normal perceptions, yet penetrating and binding up the material world; it postulates simply the limitless power of the disciplined human will; it brings in the doctrine of analogy, of an implicit correspondence between Appearance and Reality."²⁶ Magic perverts the essential standpoint, and never apprehends the Real. It steps in when reason or rationalism fails. It is a magical authority that has been given to the Veda by the ritualists. The eternity of the sound prohibits them from altering the text. Stamping this superstition on the succeeding generations, thanks to their labours, they were able to hand over the text to the present day even. They could not see any other significance here. The ritualistic interpretation of the R̥gveda came at a time when the tradition was badly soiled. From the time of its composition every poet of the R̥gveda thought and was even convinced, that he is a poet first. The hymns appeared to them as literary and artistic piece. In every piece of art the total impression alone can offer a "satisfying imaginative experience." Any alteration in the poem brings in an alteration in the final impression. The idea may be the same and so may be the words; but a new arrangement will spoil the final effect. Andrea del Sarto, known as the faultless painter, has immense technical perfection in his art. Even he refuses to amend or correct the great works of the ancients:

"Somebody remarks

Morello's outline there is wrongly traced,
His hue mistaken; what of that?.....
That arm is wrongly put—and there again,
A fault to pardon in the drawing's lines,'

24. Plato, *Phædrus*. S. 250

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Mysticism* Pp. 154—162

Its body, so to speak : its soul is right,
He means right—that, a child may understand.
Still, what an arm ! and I could alter it :
But all the play, the insight and the stretch-
out of me, out of me !.....

.....

And indeed the arm is wrong.
I hardly dare.....yet, only you to see,
Give the chalk here—quick, thus the line should go !
Ay, but the soul ! he's Rafael ! rub it out !"²⁷

The paintings of the ancients may be faulty, but yet they possess a mysterious divine spark which will vanish as soon as they are made technically correct. So he has to leave them there, though the outline is faulty. This only implies that the great works of ancients are not uninfalible, but are only beyond correction, being emanations from the divine. In every great work of art the poetic impression or experience largely depends upon all the constituents as they originally are; and even the slightest change brings in an acute and forcible alteration in our attitude and experience. The famous opening line of *Endymion* "A thing of beauty is a joy for ever" produces in us a peculiar sensation, which is entirely different from that produced by "A thing of beauty is a constant joy". It is exactly this that was the origin of the *Mimāmsaic* concept.

The authoritative tone it bears attracts us and holds us captive. About every great poem, we can say with Wordsworth ;

"I listened, motionless and still ;
And, as I mounted up the hill,
The music in my heart I bore,
Long after it was heard no more."²⁸

Great poetry does not command us, but enthralls us. It flings at us and holds us captive. We willingly enter this sphere and call it

27. *Andrea del Sarto*

28. *The Solitary Reaper*

our master. We dissociate ourselves from its authorship. It is revelation, pure and simple.

Yāska classifies all the ṛks as indirect addresses, direct addresses and self invocations. Blessings and praises, assertions and imprecations, intention of describing a particular state, apprehension arising from a particular state, censure and praise are some of the motives that impel the seers to compose the songs.²⁹ And he finally concludes,

*“Evam Uccāvacaair abhiprāyair
Ṛṣiṇām mantra dr̥ṣṭayo bhavanti.”*

Seers have the vision of their poetic compositions in this way and with various intentions.

Another important factor that vitiates a liturgical and a purely intellectual interpretation of the concept of *apauruṣeyatva* refers to the question of the Vedic authors. Vedic tradition has supplied us with the authors of almost all the hymns. Only in a few cases, the dialogue hymns and the cosmogonical ones and the like, the authorship is arbitrary ; for here they followed the maxim ;

*“Yasya vākyam sa ṛṣiḥ
Yā tenocyate sū devatā”.*

on the face of it, it is absurd ; for instance, *Purūravas* cannot be the actual author of the very opening stanza of the famous dialogue. Excepting a few, we know the names of all other poets as they were handed down in the times of Arseya Brāhmaṇa and the *Anukramaṇīs*. The ancients paid much attention in preserving the names of the authors ; and we even hear of a *Pratyavāya*, were one to read Ṛgveda without noting the names of the poets, deities and metres of the hymns ;

*“Aviditvā ṛṣim chandodaivatam Yogam eva ca
Yo’dhyāpayejjaped vāpi pāpiyān jā yatetu saḥ
Ṛṣi chando daivatam brāhmaṇārtham svarūdyapi
Aviditvā prayunjāno Mantra Kaṇṭaka Ucyate.”*

The various *Anukramaṇīs* have come into existence only to preserve these things for posterity. On the whole there are roughly some seven hundred authors belonging to three generations in a greater number of cases—as in Vasiṣṭha, Śakti Vāsiṣṭha, and Parāśara Śāktya; in a few cases there are five generations of poets as in Kuśika Aiśirathi, Gāthi Kauśika, Viśvāmitra Gathina, Madhucchandas Viśvāmitra, and Jetṛ Madhucchandasa. Again there is considerable inter-relation amongst these seers, these authors of the hymns. Gr̥tsamada is a Ś'unahotra, who belongs to the Āngīrasa Gotra; later he was Gr̥tsamada Bhārgava Ś'aunaka. We have also a Ś'unahotra Bhāradvāja. Bhṛgu is the son of Varuṇa, while Vasiṣṭha is the child of Mitra and Varuṇa, like Agastya. These poets revealed the songs of their experience. To add to all this we come across a glaringly non-Āryan feature in the eighth book.³⁰ There are on the whole eight principal families of poets, Āngīrasas, Gr̥tsamada, Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Atri, Bhāradvāja, Vasiṣṭha and Kaṇva, of whom the last partakes of a non-Āryan character. The name of Kaṇva does not have the Āryan tinge as those of Vasiṣṭha or Atri. Further we have strange names in the eighth book, some of them being doublets. We hear of a Kaṇva and Praskaṇva, Vatsa and Punarvatsa; Goṣūkti and Aśvasukti, Puṣṭigu and Ś'ruṣṭigu. Again Parvata and, Nārada, Ś'aśakarna and Sobhari belong to this family. The famous groups of Medhātithi, Medhyātithi, Devātithi, Nāpātithi and Brahmātithi are from this group. Moreover Āngīrasas and Bhārgavas also come in this book, besides most of the poetesses. Strange and rare metres, and double verses called Prāgathas make a profuse appearance. Almost all the *dānastutis* occur here. This attitude and outlook that is safely preserved by tradition carries us back to an actual historic period and in a few cases to a pre-historic period even, when the songs of the R̥gveda were primarily concerned as the works of divinely inspired poets, who took great pride in announcing their authorship and in acknowledging their masters in poetic craft. The families of poets constituted a sort of a

30. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja: "Vedic authors" in Rangaswami Iyengar Commemoration Volume pp. 385—391

literary academy and the songs that are compiled in the name of Ṛgveda are the fruits of their poetic experiences.

The compiler of the text of the Ṛgveda has the authors deities and metres clearly in the mind. The longest hymns come first, and the following ones have a gradual decrease in the number of ṛks. The hymn of the father precedes that of the son, and so is the hymn of the chief ṛṣi of the family. If the number of verses written by the son is greater, he will have precedence over his father. Generally every book, excepting the eighth and the ninth have the hymns addressed first to Agni, then to Indra. In the beginning of a new *anuvāka* also this order is adopted. In all the family books the hymns of the chief ṛṣi comes first. But in the fifth we do not hear of Atri till we reach the twenty-seventh hymn. The book of the Vasiṣṭhas has practically no subordinate ṛṣi³¹. In the eighth, Kaṇva does not come in at all but we find a larger number of lesser ṛṣis instead. Both on the side of their subject matter and on that of the poet they have a close relation. The compiler is aware of all this. The family books (II to VIII) are arranged in the ascending order of the hymns. The second has only forty-three hymns, while the eighth has one hundred and four hymns. But the third which has sixty-two precedes the fourth which has only fifty-eight; so does the fifth with eighty-seven precede the sixth which has only seventy-five. Again the book of the Vasiṣṭhas has one hundred and four, but it precedes the Kaṇvas that has ninety-two alone. Tradition tells us that Viśvāmitra being the reputed author of the basic metre Gāyatrī, precedes Vāmadeva. "But he did not precede Gr̥tsamada because Gr̥tsamada was a born Kṣatriya and through the grace of India became a Brāhman and was the author of some of the most beautiful hymns in Ṛgveda." From the beginning tradition was highly conscious of these authors, and the mechanical principles that were vigorously applied in the compilation of the *saṁhitā*. They did not ignore this part of their heritage, though they brought forth this compilation out of a liturgical necessity. It is only latter on that

31. *Ibid.*

the pure ritualists, who relied on the letter of the Veda throughout, who made these names of the poets mere figure-heads. They laid down rules that one must not study the R̥gveda without knowing the seer, deity and metre of the hymn concerned. But even this seer was taken as one who saw the hymn, as it was handed on from a previous *Kalpa*. All sorts of fantastic explanations were coined to explain the unexplainable from a ritualistic standpoint. They wilfully ignored, and the liturgical heritage held its helping hand in ignoring, the original aesthetic value and meaning of the *samhitā*. Even when it was first compiled, they could not secure the entire collection of ṛks and hymns; and Śākalya or whoever it might be made the best out of a bad bargain. A mysterious and magical halo of religion and ritual was thrust upon it and passed on as genuine coin.

Even in the hymns themselves we hear the poets say that so and so composed the hymn. Viśvāmitra (3.53.12), Gotama (4.32-12), Ś'yāvāśva (8.35.19), and Vasiṣṭha (10.66-14) only to quote a few, speak of their authorship plainly. They made no pretence that they were actually composing. They never hid their intellectual and imaginative flights. On the contrary it was a source of happiness to them. And the poets of a later day were to a certain extent highly imitative, though in some cases we are unable to identify their original patterns and models. They knew of a pattern very well, and they were conscious of their successful imitation. This imitation extends to diction and imagery; in some cases lines and in a few others even stanzas were incorporated as their own without any change. They occur sometimes in different Mandalas to the constant embarrassment of the reader. They composed the hymns in the manner of Āṅgīrasa (2.17-1; 8.40-12), Atri (5.4-9; 5.72-1; 8.35-18), Jamadagni (7.96-3), Kaṇva (8.6.11), Nabhāka (8.40.5), Mandhātṛ (8.40.12), and Kāvya Uśanas (9.97.7). These poets were held in high esteem by the later poets, and their works were taken as models for the succeeding literary creations. The ancients supplied the pattern both as regards form and matter. This confession implies a rich poetic heritage.

Besides roughly some eight thousand lines are repeated throughout the entire *saṃhitā* of the Ṛgveda. There existed a great number of verses which were claimed by every one. They are everybody's property and could be freely used by anyone for new purposes. It is their common property. Their diction is 'intensely imitative and free in all matters of form' ³²; and the poetry of Usas is remarkably imitative. They represent to a considerable extent the floating verses which have become the common property, freely adopted by later hands. And Bloomfield, after this investigation is led to suppose that "the hymns of the Ṛgveda as a body are largely epigonal or born after a long period of hymn production which must have, once upon a time, been much freer from conventional thought and mechanical utterance" ³³. Hence it is possible to say that our present redaction represents the culminating phase of a great civilization. Similes and figures of speech and poetical terms of many sorts are strewn throughout in the identical diction and imagery. Passages like :

"*Samudram iva sindhavah*"

"*Āpo na pravatū yatīh*"

"*Samudram na sañcaraṇa saniṣyavah*"

"*Vāsrū arṣantī payaseva dhenavah*:"

and the lovely figures of speech that bespeak of a superhuman imaginative vision, like :

"*Hṛdigāvona Yavaseṣvā marya iva
sva okye*" (1.91.13)

"*Raṇan gavo na Yavase*" (5.53.16)

"*Vatsamgāvo na dhenavah*" (6.45.28 etc.)

"*Sam ī Vatsam namūtṛbhih*" (9.104.2)

"*Vatsam na svasareṣu dhenavah*" (2.3.2)

"*Vadhuyur iva yoṣaṇām*" (3.52.3)

"*Jāyeva patya Usatī Suvāsāh*" (X. 71.4) etc.

These clearly prove the poetic heritage of the Vedic seers. Further we constantly come across compositions old and new, the poets

32. Bloomfield: *Ṛgveda Repetitions*.

33. *Ibid.*

themselves saying that theirs are new ones. They take a real pride in being able to compose a new and original hymn. The references to such are innumerable. ⁸⁴

34. The following are some of the passages that are worth mentioning as having a special interest in the problem of priority and posteriority of authorship. It is well to remember that almost every Vedic seer takes it a proud thing to say that he comes from the family of Āṅgiras, the prehistoric seers of the Vedic Āryans; these Āṅgirasas are always very close to Bṛhāspati and the latter is said to be the lord of that group—Gaṇapati. Now to turn to those passages:

(i) Passages referring to previous poets in whose imitation they compose new hymns;

Navyam āngirasvad arcata (2.17.1)
 Evendrāgnibhyām pitṛvan naviyā
 Mandhātṛvad āngirasvad avāci (8.40.12)
 Vasiṣṭhāsah pitṛvad vācmanakrata (X. 66. 14)
 Atrivan namasā gr̥ṇānah (5. 4. 9)
 Gobhir juhūmo atrivat (5. 72. 1)
 Atrēr iva s'ṛputam yūrvyā stutim
 Śyūvāsava sunvato madacyutā (8. 35. 19)
 Gr̥ṇāna, Jumaḍagnivat (7. 36. 3)
 Girah s'umbhāmi Kapvavat (8. 6. 11)
 Prabrahmaṇi nabhākavad . . irajyata (8. 40. 5)
 Pra kūvyam Us'aneva bruvāṇah (9. 92. 7) Etc.

(ii) The second list of occurrences refer largely to compositions old [and new without actually referring to any previous poet's utterance. Here we find these poets taking a very great pride in their originality and in the freshness of the hymn. Some such passages are;

Śūktena vacasā navena (2. 18. 3)
 Navyam Kṛṇomi sanyase parājam (3. 31. 19)
 Yah stomebhir vāvṛdhe pūrvyebhir yo
 madhyamebhir uta nūtanābhih (3. 32. 13)
 Navyam atakṣadbrahmā (1. 62. 13 etc.)
 Navisthayā mati (I. 82, 2; 8. 25. 24)
 Stomam janayāmi navyam (1. 101. 2)
 Uktham navīyo janayasva yajnaih (6. 18. 15)
 Yah pūrvyabhir uta nūtanabhir vāvṛdhe
 Gr̥ṇātam śipām (6. 44. 13)
 Girvapasam arcendram brahmaṇa
 Janitar naveha (6. 50. 6)
 Mantram ye.....—navyā atakṣan (7. 7. 6)

The account given by tradition corroborates exhaustively and conclusively with the internal evidence, and firmly establishes the authorship of the hymns. But human authorship does not mean that the poet is the author of his work. Were it so, he need not wait for the inspired moment; and works of the uninspired times are invariably dull, insipid, prosaic and devoid of any poetic charm. The poet is the medium of the utterance; and the term "poieo"

Navam nu stomam jījanam (7. 15, 4)
 Ye ca pūrvarṣayo ye ca nūnā Indra
 brahmāni janayanta viprāḥ (7. 22. 9)
 Juṣantedam brahma Kriyamāṇam naviyāḥ (7. 36. 14)
 Navyasibhir girbhīr Kṛṇudhvam (7. 53. 2)
 Pravām manmany ṛcase navani Kṛtāni
 Brahma juṣann imani (7. 61. 6)
 S'ucim nu stomam nava jātama .ya (7. 33. 1)
 Naviyo.....avaci (8. 40. 12)
 Nu.....navyase sūktāya,
 sādhyā pathah (9. 9. 8)
 Iyam te agne navyasi Maniṣa (X. 4. 6)
 Imam pratnaya suṣtutim navyasim
 Voceyamasmā Vs'ate s'ṛṇotu nah (X. 91. 13)
 Pitr̥ya ṛy ukthani (7. 56. 23)
 Pūrvya stutih (7. 94. 1; 8. 24. 17)
 Anuṣtuvanti pūrvathā (8. 3. 8, 15. 6)
 Pratnavaj, janayagīrah (8. 13. 7)
 Gīrah s'umbhāni pūrvathā (9. 43. 2)
 Tvam pūrva ṛṣayo girbhīr ayan (X. 38. 9)
 Brahma Kṛṇvanty adhvare (1. 47. 2)
 Kṛta brahma (2. 25. 1; 6. 20. 3)
 Ima brahma brahmavūh Kriyante (3. 41. 3)
 Akāri brahma samidhana tubhyam (4. 6. 11)
 Akāri te hanvo brahma navyam .hiya (1. 16. 21)
 Brahma Kṛṇantah (1. 117. 25; 7. 103. 8)
 Brahma.....Kriyamāṇam (6. 52. 2; 7. 36. 14)
 Brahmāṇi Kṛṇomi (7. 22. 7)
 Iyam.....akāri (7. 60. 1; 7. 97. 9)
 Brahma Kṛṇota (8. 32. 17)
 Idam vadāmi (6. 47. 10)
 Vaṣṭi suṣtutim (6. 61. 7)
 Ayā vardhasva tanvāgīra (8. 1. 18)
 Tamayā vaca gṛṇe (8. 23. 7)
 Karur aham (9. 112. 3)
 Aham eva savyam idam vadāmi (X. 125. 5)

actually means a creator, a shaper, just as *Kavi* also means one who has the direct apprehension of Reality, and one who describes. In the inspired moment he is not in a foreign abode, but in his own original homeland.

Divine energy works throughout, and the artist as its mouth-piece, having a vision of it, reveals it to us. He is a *mantra draṣṭā*, *sākṣāt kṛta dharmā*, enabling the incapable minds to elevate themselves, as Yāska observes:

“*Sākṣāt Kṛta dharmāṇa rṣayo
Babhūvuh. Te'varebhiḥsaksāt
Kṛta dharmabhyā upādeśeṇa mantrāṇ
Samprīduh. Upadeśa grahaṇāya
Glāyanto'vare bīḷva grahaṇayemam
Grantham samāmnasīsur vedam ca
Vedāngāni ca.*”³⁵

The Seers have direct intuitive insight into Reality. By oral transmission they handed over those secrets to those who were devoid of that insight. Still later generations felt a bankruptcy even in this oral transmission, and they had to compile these treatises of the Vedas and the Vedāngas. It is the duty of the seer to direct the unlettered into the mysteries of the deep. The surface mind of the latter is capable of rational knowledge alone. But the deeper mind which looks up soundly is the organ of mystical knowledge and operative in the aesthetic and religious apprehensions. The poet is not empirically conscious of what he utters in that mood. As Madame Guyon observes, “In writing I saw that I was writing of things which I had never seen: and during that time of this manifestation I was given light to perceive that I had in me treasures of knowledge and understanding which I did not know that I possessed.”³⁶ Similar to the conception of the Vedic poets as reported by Yāska, Blake too conceived that it was his vocation to bring this mystical illumination, this heightened vision of reality within the range of the ordinary man. As he puts it characteristically, he has “to cleanse the doors of perception” of the race, “to open the immortal eyes of man inwards into the world of thought,” and to exalt his powers of perception until they could receive the message, the message of a higher degree of Reality.³⁷ The creation is communicated and made universal, though in a purely subjective garb. It is made to exist as a concrete entity in the world.

(To be Continued.)

35. Yāska (1, 20)

36. Underhill P. 66

37. Jerusalem 1, Quoted by Underhill P. 235

A SUPERNATURAL PHENOMENON *

By

DR. NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., PH.D.

SOME time ago, my attention was drawn to a very interesting article published in the October (1944) number of the Q.J.M.S. pages 72 to 77, presenting some supernatural experiences of Prof. Kunhan Raja. These experiences, coming as they do from one whose words cannot be taken lightly in respect of their evidentiary value, bring home to any one who reads them the fact that there exist around us things and beings which the non-spiritual sciences in the present stages of their development cannot explain. I myself have never had any opportunity to come across any phenomenon of a supernatural nature up to 1945 though I had listened to many accounts of incidents of such a nature from reliable gentlemen as their personal experiences. There are, among my friends, many scientists and erudite scholars (not scientists), who have expressed their strong disbelief in the existence of supernatural beings and the occurrences of phenomena which are looked upon as supernatural. Their attitude appears to be that so long as they do not perceive them themselves, they cannot bring their minds to believe that there is no defect of some sort or other in the experiences narrated to them. I have noticed recently that it is not sometimes unmixed with a feeling that they with their superior gift of sifting evidence would have been better judges and the phenomena described to them could have been explained by the known laws of physical sciences which the narrators are not in a position to do or are not credited with the power to do. In spite of this spirit of scepticism amongst a large group of men about such phenomenal, I want to put on record one which took place in my residence a few months ago. Ere now, I could not make up my mind whether I should at all bring it to the notice of others or

* Written in July 1946, but owing to postal and other difficulties, it could not be sent for publication.

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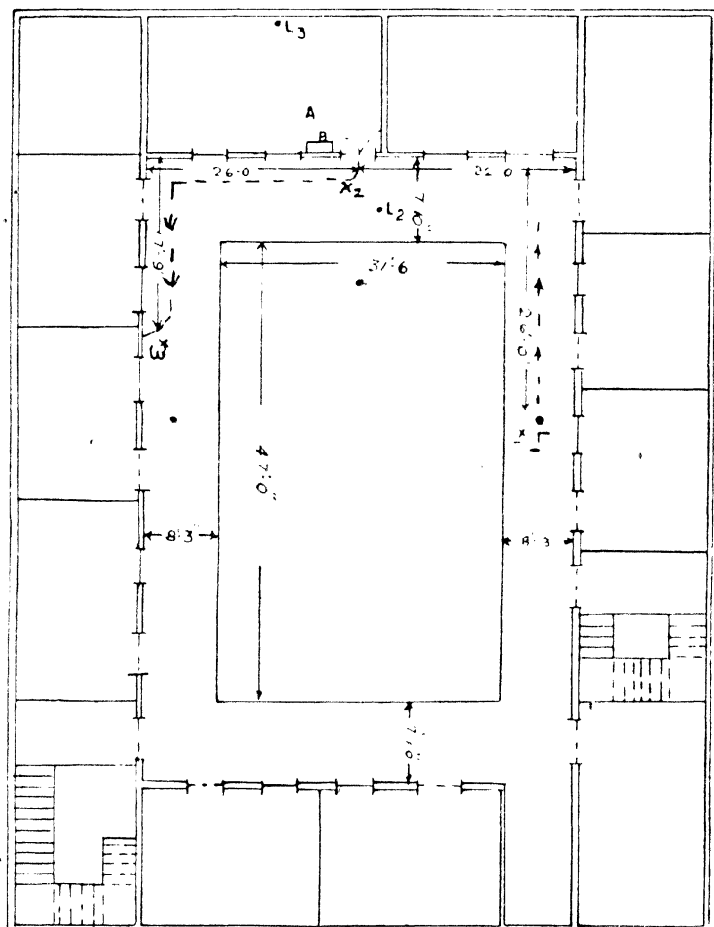


Diagram referred to in the text

whether it would at all be worthwhile to do so. But thinking that the phenomenon is rather of a very remarkable nature, I have thought it fit to follow in the footsteps of my learned friend Prof. Kunhan Raja, and put it in print for providing data to those who take interest in such incidents.

On the 10th of November 1945 at about 8 o'clock at night my wife and daughter (for convenience mentioned as **A** & **B** respectively later on in this paper) were in a room on the first floor in the inner apartments of my residence, 96, Amherst Street, Calcutta. This portion of the house contains a rectangular yard 41 ft. x 27 ft. surrounded by verandahs on all sides about 8 ft. wide. The room is situated on the southern side of the yard. For facility of description a diagram is appended. Three crosses (numbered X1, X2 and X3) have been put to mark the three points important for this narrative. X.1 on the western verandah shows the place where the apparition who forms the subject-matter of this account first came into the view of **A** from the room on the southern side through the door, a leaf of which was open. The figure was that of a lady. She passed along the western verandah, under the light, towards the southern room. **A** casually noticed her coming, as **A** stood with her face towards the open door-leaf, and spoke to **B** who sat on the couch just to the left of the door as shown in the diagram. An electric light (60 watts) was burning on a bracket on the southern wall of the room, lighting it sufficiently, and sending outside portion of its brilliance through the door. Two other lights were burning in the verandahs at the time, viz. one just in front of the room and the other on the western side as already mentioned. The locations of the lights are marked L. The portion of the house was very calm and there were no indications of the presence of any inmates, as others, except **A** and **B** who were at the time in another adjacent portion of the house. The lady (apparition) must have felt that there was none in the house and perhaps she would not have visited it if any human beings were astir. She appeared veiled. Coming to the door of the southern room, she peeped in, and finding that there were **A** and **B**, she at once retraced her steps and proceeded quickly towards the eastern verandah. **A** and **B** were both curious to

know who she was and **B** first stepped forward, peeped out and called **A** in order that both might follow and enquire of the lady as to why she had come and was going away rapidly. Both **A** and **B** then pursued her. **A** enquiring 'who are you?', 'Why did you come?' 'Why are you not speaking?' 'Are you S . . . ?' thinking she might be the person. Pursuing her in this way, they both saw the lady walking rapidly along a line close to the wall, and after turning the corner, she went up to the wall of the second room of the eastern verandah marked X.3, where she stopped, turned round a bit towards her left placing her back partially towards the wall and gradually disappeared. The process of disappearance took a few moments, because **A** actually pointed with surprise to **B**, 'Look how she is disappearing into the wall' and repeated these words several times rapidly. The lady while she was being pursued never ran.* It was noticed that her *saree* which was very long, covering her feet up the toes, was very short in its girth at the lower end, leaving little latitude for her to take long steps. At the time of quick walking with short steps the stroke of the ankles against the *saree* was producing a sharp rustling sound. While she peeped into the room, only a portion of the face was noticed by both **A** and **B**, and both state that the complexion was very fair. During the pursuit, they noticed that the *saree* was glossy white and fine with no coloured border. According to the usual custom in this country, a *saree* with no coloured border is usually worn by widows. Fine as it was, it allowed a view of her profuse hair which was worn as a big twisted lump on the back of her head. The *saree* was draped round her tightly displaying contours, which showed that she was neither fat nor slim, and looked tall. The distance between **A** and **B** and the apparition was not more than 10 or 12 feet during the entire pursuit. It is noteworthy that she did not disappear into any of the nearer portions of the walls or door or windows, but persisted in pacing on until the wall of a room that is not used as a living room or is rarely opened, was reached, leaving aside the room at the corner which is not also a living room but is used frequently. The disappearance of the figure must have frightened **A** and **B**, but on the whole they faced the situation with courage. The eastern

verandah where the lady disappeared had no light in it but the lights in the two other verandahs kept it sufficiently visible.

Three other incidents, two experienced by myself in company with others, and one by another in my presence, occurred since the 10th of November 1945 on which the phenomenon described above took place. As they are not so remarkable, I do not propose to give details about them on the present occasion.

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REVIEWS

Speeches by His Highness Sri Jayachamaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, (1940—1944.) Maharaja of Mysore. Printed by the Assistant Superintendent, Government Branch Press, Mysore.

S'ri Jayachāmarāja Wadiyar Bahadur in his letter written to the late Rev. G. W. Sawday on the 14th of August 1940 wrote of the responsibilities which he was undertaking and prayed that he may be enabled to follow the footsteps of the great ruler, learn the secrets of his wonderful power and influence, strive to attain his high standard and continue to promote the welfare of all classes and creeds among the people of the State and the speeches show how well he has risen to the great occasion demanded of him. He has dedicated himself and all he possesses to the service of the people. The victor breeds in enmity: the conquered sleeps in sorrow. The whole world is suffering from the want of an ethical ideal. New physicians of the soul are required to bring us peace. New nation-states which came into being in the last century gave neither security nor common understanding nor common organisation and national egoism brought in sharp antagonisms. God in his wisdom will send inspired leaders who will lead mankind from the valley of tribulation to the kingdom of peace and happiness. The Maharāja is a convinced believer in the virtues of democracy and in the qualities of the people of Mysore. He is anxious to ensure and maintain equal opportunities for all, security and freedom under the law, and the raising of the general standard of life by the full development of the great resources with which our State is so bountifully endowed. The deterioration of ancient monuments is due not merely to the ravages of wind and rain through the ages but is also as a result of the neglect and still more distressing of the thoughtless spoliation. Enlightened public opinion and vigilance are necessary for the preservation of historic edifices. Life is a great battle which you should fight patiently and steadfastly like stalwart soldiers, like men of culture. The Mahārāja is a believer in progress which need not necessarily be slow but its tempos should increase with the consciousness of the defects in our national economy which war-time introspection has vividly

brought home to us. Following the footsteps of his great uncle he has enhanced the prestige of the State which has grown from strength to strength as will be evident from the pages of the work under review and his work since.

S. S.

Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for the years 1943 and 1944. Published by the Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, Mysore. Price Rs. 10-0-0 each, Calico Bound; and Rs. 8-0-0 each, Board Bound.

WE welcome these two reports, which maintain the high standard of the previous volumes in variety, excellence and interest. We also await with interest the promised monograph on Chandra-valli. The areas near Brahmagiri and Hungunda (1941) require more intensive work. Cromlechs, Cairns, Pāṇḍu Kulis, and *Maurayara Manes* are wide-spread all over the State. We are glad that the department's attention has been drawn to those near the Kolar Gold Fields in the East and the tract between Bettadapur and Ramanathapur in the West. We would like to draw its attention to those round about Bangalore and in the Chamaraṇagara Taluks bordering on the Biligirirangan Hills. Several of them were opened up in the previous century. Systematic research will reveal unopened ones from which useful pieces may be obtained for closer study possible now with the data accumulated elsewhere. The department has done well to copy and print the Kukke Subrahmanya temple plates and inscription and those of Rāghavēndrasvami Mutt, which had been noticed earlier while the texts were not available. In Indological research intensive study of grants and records of the same period and of successive periods has got to be made to clear points of doubt and fill up the lacunæ. The printing of the Kaviledurga Mutt records is welcome. The reports include Kadamba records of 500 A.D. descriptions and illustrations of the four Rāṣṭrakūṭa pillars near Kadur, the Bāradūr grant of Śrī-puruṣa II (725 A.D.), a Ganga Viragal of 808 A.D. two viragals containing records of Rājendra Cōḷa's reign (1036 A.D.) in the Mysore taluk, and a record of Viṣṇuvaradhana of 1096 A.D. at Belagola near Mysore, the earliest so far discovered of his inscriptions,

yielding fresh information about him raising new questions about Melkote and Śrī Rāmanuja's alleged conversion of Bittideva and his consequent change of name. The Ganga record of 808 A.D. at Yellāmbalase gives interesting information about Śrīpuruṣa and Sivamāra, and also about the death of the Ganga King in a fight with the Rāṣtrakūtas. There are also summaries of two manuscripts, one about Kempe Gauda II of Bangalore and another about Setingapatam. The so-called Janamejaya pillar at Hiremagalur noticed in 1943 as under study is not covered in the 1944 report and we await the result with interest. The descriptions of temples and monuments not previously noticed in detail and the inclusion of representative photographs of structures, images and inscriptions and copper-plates enhance the utility and attractiveness of the volumes. Principal among the illustrations are 'Prehistoric Iron Age Cromlechs', Copper-plate grants of "Kadamba Ravi Varma", 'Ganga Śrīpuruṣa' and Bachanna Wodeyar's, Ganga's Viragal inscription of Yellāmbalse, the stone inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana in 1098 A.D. and the east door-way and basement frieges of Keśava temple, Belur, showing the detailed carvings in all their rich variety. It is also pleasing to note that two volumes of Supplements to Epigraphia Carnatica, Volumes XIV and XV, have been published (Mysore and Mandya Districts and Hassan District). We wish the publication of the other volumes is expedited.

Before concluding however we must express our sense of regret at the delay in the issue of the volumes. The text of the 1943 report was printed off on 24th August 1944 and that of 1944 on 22nd November 1945. But the volumes were available for distribution far later. The reports record an instance of a Public Works Department contractor having broken to pieces one of the important inscriptions relating to the early Mysore period in Belagola and used for steps to a channel, and the reconstruction of temple towers without adhering to the original style and without previous reference to the Archæological Department points to urgent need for cultural course in the engineering college. That the staff of the department require also considerable strengthening is apparent from the reports.

A. V. R.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology. Volumes XIII and XIV for the years 1938 and 1939. Published by the Kern Institute Leyden. Price 9 Guilders (ƒ 1) each.

THESE Two Volumes are monumental evidence of the cementing quality of love and the universal urge of culture. They were compiled and printed in Hitler's occupied Holland in the years of the war and preserved carefully and distributed immediately distribution became possible. The volume for 1938 is the first which did not have the personal direction of Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, the founder of the Institute and the chief editor until then. Dr. Vogel's services to the cause of Indological research by the inception of the Annual Bibliography and the high scholarly standard maintained by it will live in history. The Bibliography provided a dire need and furnished highly useful material for research workers and opened new vistas to the enthusiast by the encyclopædic character of its contents within the field set for itself, the excellent mould for classification of material and the discriminating fulness in indicating the references. The care with which Dr. Vogel selected his colleagues and the friendly team spirit in which they worked is evident by the maintenance of the standard even after Dr. Vogel withdrew from direct responsibility.

The Volumes include all journals and literature received up to the German occupation of Holland, for example, the last issues indexed include Q.J.M.S. Vol. XXX. No.1; O.L.D. Vol. II; Man in India Vol. XIX; J.R.A.S. for 1939; J.R.A.S.B. for 1939; J of Ind. Hist. Vol. XVIII. No. 3; J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXXV; Ind. Hist. Quar. Vol. XV. No. 2; Ep. Ind. Vol. XXIV. No. 6; J. of Bombay B.R.A.S. Vol. XIV. The editors observe "we much regret to state that for this volume(XIII) no contribution was received relating to the work of the Archæological Department in India, so that a serious gap in our survey of antiquarian progress in the main region of Indian Culture remains to be filled. We hope to be able to do so in the next year's issue." They rightly deplore the 'political circumstances' then prevailing and add "Archæology can thrive only in an atmosphere of peace, where no hatred and envy exists between peoples but on the contrary, a strong need is felt to understand and

appreciate what each civilisation has contributed of its own to the common heritage of mankind." In the next volume which consists barely of 69 pages and 77 periodicals against 108 pages and 103 periodicals in the previous year they say "The hope expressed (previously) has not been fulfilled.....Neither can we now except to receive in due time the necessary data for the bibliography proper of our next volume."

In Volume XIII. Dr. Vogel has a learned 'Note on an ivory statute from Pompei' and rightly rejects the idea that it is one of 'Lakshmi.' His summary of archaeological news in the next volume evidences the keen interest with which he secured all sources of information, and contains a reference to a find of archæological interest near Pondicherry (now so richly explored at Arikamedu), the Kodumbalur temple in the Pudukottah State, a loving obituary tribute to the late Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahani and a notice about the centenary of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. Dr. Vogel also contributes a very valuable and humanistic review on Sir Leonard Woolley's report on the working of the Archæological Survey of India, 1939. Some of the remarks bear repetition: "The recommendations which we have summarised above are based on purely scholarly considerations. There are however other aspects which in a country like India cannot be totally disregarded. There is in the first place the material and religious aspect.....The religious position with regard to archæology is very different in countries like Egypt and Mesopotamia (and may we add Italy and Greece)... ..The India of today, on the contrary, is united by a thousand ties with the Vedic and Purāṇic past.....National sentiment will welcome in particular such discoveries as may in some manner be connected with the great personages of ancient IndiaA Director-General of Archæology in India cannot allow himself to be guided by the scholarly interest alone... ..This may perhaps account for certain shortcomings..... which have been criticised in Sir Leonard's report.....There are still numerous questions of the first importance to be solved such as the date of Kāniska, the position of Menander's capital Sagala.....For the earlier period history has to be built up with the aid of numismatic and epigraphical materials. On that account,

students of Indian History will certainly deplore if, in the future too great stress will be laid on pre-historic Archaeology." We hear this is already so, and that Sir Leonard's programme came in for strong comment in the session of the Indian History Congress in Delhi. The volumes under review have very interesting and informative articles; Indian numismatics in 1938 by Sir Richard Burns, Archaeology in Baroda and Malaya; reconstruction and archaeological works in Angkor and Netherlands India, and on Padang Lawas by Lt. Col. Th Van Erp. R. E. The nine plates in Vol. XIII and four in Vol. XIV help to maintain the high level of the series and admirably elucidate the text.

Each volume is furnished with an index of authors only. As the material also is arranged alphabetically under authors in each section, it would make for easier reference if a subject index be also included. Cross references given serve the purpose to a limited extent. It is hoped that some organisation will undertake a cumulative index of all the previous volumes.

A. V. R.

Archæological Survey of India. South Indian Inscriptions. Volume XII. The Pallavas with Introductory Notes in English. General Editor. Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, B.A. Author V. Venkatasubba Ayyar, B.A. Price Rs. 18—10—0 or 29 Shillings.

THIS volume is the fourth of the new series of South Indian Inscriptions adopted in respect of records collected after 1903, *i.e.* subsequent to volume VIII. In the new scheme, the records are published by dynasties and in chronological order with prefatory notes in English for each inscription and drawing attention to its salient contents. Volumes IX and XI dealing with Kannada inscriptions have been published. Volume X deals with Telugu Inscriptions. The volume under review is the first Tamil publication under the new scheme. It contains all the Pallava inscriptions collected between 1904 and 1935. The index is very useful, exhaustive and informing. The historical introduction is helpful and recounts the main current of Pallava history, indicates the

points for further study and forms a valuable contribution in respect of the Kōpperuñjiṅga dēvas and the Kaḍavas of S'ōndamaṅgalam. Out of the 266 inscriptions covered by the volume, the first 117 refer to the earlier Pallava rulers. The others including the records of other chiefs given in Appendix B concern the Kaḍava branch of the Pallavas and furnish valuable fresh material for comparative study and further research.

The late Dr. C. Minakshi, among others, studied the inscriptions in the first part and collected a mass of information about the social and economic life and administration of the period. Her study did not cover the period of Kōpperuñjiṅga dēvas. These, however, have been studied along with Cōla records by Professor K. A. Nilakantha Sastriar and others as the history of Tōḍamaṇḍalam. But further comparative study by literary, historical, economic and linguistic research workers and scholars in Sanskrit, Telugu, Tamil, Kannada and Malayālam is needed for a complete history. A chronological table of rulers with their contemporaries with maps of the area is a desideratum.

Among the taxes reported may be mentioned those on metal works, leather works, cloth dealers, rope-jugglers or dancers, Ājivikas, water-diviners, gamblers and barbers, *Pāḍi-kāval*, *Kāsāyam*, *ponvari*, *āḷamañji*, *antarāyam*, *pandāra-pāḍi*, *Nanjai-kaḍamai*, *punjai kaḍamai*, *Vette* (forced labour) *taniyāl*, *sirupāḍi kāval*, *perum-pāḍi kāval* (share of the overseer), *ari mukikai*, *nellayam*, *Kattigai kāsū* (fee on fuel) *Nat kāsū*, *mulladi*, *inavari*, *eri-minpāttam*, *āsuvigal-perkkaḍamai*, *achchuthari kaḍamai*, *paṇaittaṟi kaḍamai*, (tax on looms) *vāḷippayaru tarappadi*, *nilattiriṇṇu kaḍamai*, *chekku kaḍamai* (oil-mill tax), *perkkaḍamai*, *irunduparimāruvar perkkaḍamai*, *settigal* and *vāṇiyar perkkaḍamai* (tax on merchants) *kārkaḍamai*, *vāḷmanjadi kaḍamai*, *pūlikkapattam* (a levy on change of tenants), *vēṇḍukōḷ*, *nallerudu*, *narkidā*, *Kāttigiappachchai*, *pudavai māḍai*, *pāsaṅkkaḍamai* (tax on stones), *Koyirramappēru*, *Tattūrapputtam* (tax on goldsmiths), *ālvari*, (poll tax), *suṇṇayakkāsu*, *vannārkasu*, (tax on washerman), *Kōyirramperuram perū*, (tax on carpenters, masons and potters). Among the assemblies and committees, we find mention of *sabha*, *mahāsabha*, *nagarattār*,

śaṭṭaperumakkal, gaṇaperumakkal, amritagaṇa, ālumgaṇa, dharmagal, nāṭṭavar, ūrār, and mūlaparushaiyar. Several offices and officers mentioned include Karmakkiḷavar, tirunāmakkiḷavar, agambadi-mudali, brahmaśrīrāja devarkanmi, koyilnayakam, dharmasana, kelvi-mudali, mudali, mudaliyar, nyāyattār, piḷḷai, piḷḷayar, rahasyādhikṛta, sāmantamudali, śrikāryam, tānattār, uṭkottumudali and vāriyaṇ. Interesting evidence of exchange of currency is given in record 218 of the twentieth year of Kōpperuñjiṅga dēva II. It gives that 15 nellūr-māḍai as equivalent to 331 Perumāl-rāsi (paṇam). The price of oil is stated in a record of the twenty-fourth year of Vijaya Nripatunga Vikrama Varman as 40 *nāli* per *kaḷaṇṇu*. The rate of interest on most endowments is fifteen per cent per annum. The price of land in Kōpperuñjiṅga deva II's records works out at 2,000 *Kāsu* per *ma* of land in Mugaiyūr, Chidambara taluk, 535 *Kāsu* per *ma* of land in Ilanāṅgūr near Chidambaram, 7,500 *Kāsu* per *ma* of irrigated land in Viranarāyananallur of the same taluk, 40 *Kāsu* per *Kuḷi* in Tirukkachchuur, Chinglepet taluk. There is also record of a sale by auction by private parties of 700 *Kuḷis* of land in Śakkaramallūr, Wallajah taluk for five *Gaṇḍagōpalaṇ-pudu-māḍai*. Interesting instances of encouraging cultivation of land which had gone out of cultivation are found in records 129 and 164. In 129 the king found that the tenants had migrated leaving the lands waste. He remitted the arrears, restored their original holdings and invited the emigrants to settle on their original lands. In the other, taxes were remitted to encourage lands to be brought under cultivation. Light is thrown on the detailed care of land survey and settlement by record 215. It records that an excess of 17 *mās* of land was found on measurement of a grant of 63 *mās* originally granted to the Chidambaram temple and confirms the excess in favour of the temple and waives recovery of *kaḍamai* in respect of the previous years. An instance of zealous care in control of new irrigation is found in record 256. This is a memorandum (*niṇaiṇṇu*) stating that the *kāṇṇyāḷar* planted areca palms and betel creepers on lands in Vilinallūr watered by a spring channel irrigating Poṇmōyndaśōḷa-maṅgalam and that objection having been raised to such use of the channel, facilities were provided on representation for raising new groves on lands

with wells and also for exchanging lands which were assessed at a lower rate.

We shall close with an interesting record referring to an endowment to the Chidambaram temple by a devotee from Bengal. It refers to a flower garden formed in 1261 A. D. by Gaṅgōḷi Tiruchchirāmbalam Uḍaiyār *alias* Uḍaiyār Īśvaraśivan from the Southern Rāḍha country in Uttarāpatha corresponding to a part of Bengal south of Ajayā river.

A. V. R.

A New History of The Indian People. Vol. VI. The Vākātaka-Gupta Age. (Circa 200-550 A. D.) Edited by Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B. and Anant Sadashiv Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt. Published for the Bharatiya Itihasa Parisad (Bharatīya Itihās-i-Tarikh-i-Hind) by Sundarlal Jain, Managing Proprietor, Messrs. Motilal Banarsi Dass, Publishers, Lahore.

WE welcome the New History of the Indian People, Vol. VI dealing with the Vākātaka-Gupta Age edited by Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar and Dr. Anant Sadashiv Altekar. In the last decade of the nineteenth century an attempt was made to have books written on Indian History by Indian scholars but somehow the work was abandoned. After a period of fifty years, under the presidentship of the great historian, Sir Jadunath Sircar, a general board of editors is formed and the Bhāratiya Itihāsa Parisad has undertaken the publication of A New History of the Indian People in twenty volumes. History is not a chronology of kings, good or bad, but it is the growth and development of the people, their social and political life and organisation, their culture, their economic and civic condition and in short it is the story of the whole people. Hitherto the immense mass of raw material in the form of inscriptions, coins, architectural remains and antiquities, legends, traditions and purāṇas were not easily available to all. Sir Vincent Smith was among the earliest who pieced together these materials of the Hindu period in his Early History of India in 1904 in his epoch-making book. The progress since then has not stopped and the material collected is vast and wide-spread and lies scattered over

numberless journals, popular magazines, daily papers, pamphlets and books and it requires considerable effort and labour to collate, analyse, classify and synthetise this vast accumulated knowledge. No doubt the Heritage Series and the Cambridge History of India do contain a connected narrative of Indian history, life and thought. But a history of India written entirely by Indians with an Indian outlook not biased or prejudiced but fair, correct and circumspect, true regarding facts and reasonable in their interpretation, was a desideratum. What one wants is not the unrelieved picture of bloodshed and dynastic changes but all aspects of a nation's life and thought, art and culture, viewed with a sympathetic insight. The defect in national character should not be minimised nor the nobler qualities which mark an Indian out from others. A general scheme of the complete work is given of which the present volume under review is the sixth. We understand that volumes twelve and four are also ready and hope that they would be available for distribution soon. We very much regret that Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, former Director-General of Archaeology in India, also a member of the General Board of Editors, has since passed away. There need not be any criticism indeed about the scheme but it looks as if some of the volumes as at present arranged would be too thin and the others too big with reference to the matter and the material available. It would have been more appropriate if the Jains, Buddhists, Mauryas, the Delhi sultans, Mughals, Marāṭhas, the Sikhs and the British were treated into different periods: no doubt the titles are selected merely for the sake of convenience.

About C. 200 A.D. the Kuṣāṇas and the Western Kṣatrapas were the leading political powers, more powerful than any other in the country. They were completely Hinduised at that time and had become zealous champions and admirers of the Hindu religion and Sanskrit literature. However, their domination had not reconciled the people in the subject states. With the weakening of the Kuṣāṇa Empire and the known rise of the Sassanians in Iran, the Maghas, the Nāgas, Yaudheyas, and the Kuṇḍas gradually ousted them from the U.P. and the Eastern Punjab. After the death of Rudradāma in C. 170 A.D. the Sātavāhanas

re-asserted themselves and reconquered northern Mahārāṣṭra during the reign of Gautamiputra Yajñaśrī Sātakaṇi. The rise of the Vākātakas under Pravara Sena I led to the further decline of the Śakas. The Guptas completely wiped out the Śakas about the close of the fourth century A.D. The third century had succeeded in practically putting an end to foreign domination. The Guptas boldly proceeded and annexed the territories of a number of kings that were then ruling in Bihar, Bengal, the United Provinces and Central India. When the Vākātaka king Pravara Sena II, the son-in-law of Chandragupta II, died a premature death, the administration of the Deccan during the regency of Prabhāvatī Gupta came into the grip of the Gupta emperor. So for a time the extensive territories between the Godāvari and the Sutlej were welded together under the Gupta sceptre, and most of the neighbouring states were willing to recognise his leadership. Weak kings led to disruptive tendencies in the governance of the state; yet the absence of an enduring political unity in the country was more than counter-balanced throughout the land. The popularisation of Sanskrit spread Indian religion and culture in Eastern Asia. A comprehensive intellectual renaissance was another important feature of the age. The main characteristic of the Hindu scholarship is the complete freedom from self-complacency and narrowness of outlook. The rational attitude of the society, the developments of the technique in art evolving a technical language quite adequate to express abstruse conceptions and spiritual idealism are among the contributions of the age. In the famous seated Buddha image at Sarnath is depicted the feeling of confidence, composure, compassion and an inexpressible glow of boundless spiritual bliss that marked the features of the great teacher. Indian art was characterised by restraint, dignity, naturalness, expressiveness and beauty and its influence made itself felt in the sandy deserts of Central Asia and the Far-Eastern coral reefs and sands of the Indian archipelago. The work is thorough complete and up-to-date. We look forward with eager interest to the other volumes in the series.

Ujjayinī in Ancient India. By Dr. B. C. Law. Published by the Gwalior Archaeological Department, Gwalior.

THIS monograph seeks to give a connected account fully documented, with a map, of Ujjayinī based on the original literary sources in Sanskrit, Pali and Prākṛit, and utilising the evidence of Chinese pilgrims and of coins and inscriptions. It has six sections, *viz.* name and location, evidence of Yaun Chwang and Periplus, political history, Ujjayinī on ancient coins, Ujjayinī as centre of learning and religious history. A very full index and eight plates containing illustrations of Vaiśvā Tekḍi (Stupa ?) and timber palisade excavated on the bank of the Sīprā river (third Century B.C.) pottery, coins, images, observatory and Mahākāla temple enhance the attraction and usefulness of the volume. The classification of sections being what it is, repetition is inevitable. The topics dealt with have been and still are the subject of keen controversy among Indologists. The discussion about the Samvat Era is illuminating and takes us nearest to the verification of the traditional commencement of the era at 57 B.C. The author's criticism about the connection of Avantī (name of a country) is from prince Avantī in the Matysa Purāṇa on the authority of Pāṇini who opines that Avantī is a feminine name. A reference to the purāṇa would have shown him that it referred to the prince as Avantī and not to Avantī. The author has not probably noticed the possible connection of Caṇḍeśvara Mahākāla shrine with the king Caṇḍa Pradyota, contemporary of Buddha.

The Monograph is highly suggestive and valuable.

A. V. R.

Pre-Vedic times to Vijayanagara. A survey of 25 years' work in Ancient Indian History and Archæology. By H. D. Sankalia.

(A Reprint from the Progress of Indic Studies 1917—42. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.)

THIS is a reprint from the Progress of Indic Studies, 1917—1942, issued by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee. It is a masterly survey of the new material made available in the twenty-five years for the elucidation of obscure points in India's past. Indian scholars, all over the

country, took to research. Before this period the Mythic Society was the first society founded after the Calcutta and Bombay branches of Asiatic Societies. Historical societies were later on formed in various provincial capitals. Universities grew up all over. The institution of Doctorates in Indian universities gave a fillip to post-graduate research. Prior to 1917, Mysore was perhaps the only Indian state with an archæological department and a department for search and publication of oriental manuscripts but during the period under review, several states organised work on these lines.

The phamplet before us is comprehensive. Workers on India's cultural past owe a great debt of gratitude to Dr. Sankalia. While he draws attention to the relative importance of the various data and deservedly gives the first place to Mohenjo Daro and Harappa finds and the Nalanda explorations, he is not unmindful of the valuable work done by scholars in the field of the Śāka, Sunga, Gupta and Vākātaka dynasties, the administrative institutions and culture in Pallava, Cōla and Ganga periods, or the Candravalli excavations in the State of Mysore. His suggestion for further work to fill up gaps and lacunæ or missing links are well thought out. We join the author in appealing for increased attention towards cultural history and to field-work by universities and research societies in association with Government departments.

A. V. R

Maria Murder and Suicide. By Verrier Elwin. Price Rs. 10-0-0.

The Agaria. By Verrier Elwin. Price Rs. 12-8-0.

Folk Tales of Mahakosala. By Verrier Elwin. Price Rs. 15-0-0.

Folk-Songs of the Maikal Hills. By Verrier Elwin and Shama Rao Hivale. Price Rs. 15-0-0.

(All the above published by the Oxford
University Press, Madras.)

VERRIER Elwin has spent a life-time among the primitive people in the middle India. His great work among the aborigines has made his name known wherever two or three are gathered together to think of India's duty towards her oldest inhabitants, the men of the malaria-belt, the forests and the hills. To his social and philanthropic work he has now added sympathetic and revealing

anthropological work of the first order, recording the still distinctive ways of life and culture of many sections of India's twenty-five and a half million tribal population. His researches are providing a scientific basis not merely for social work among the tribes, but above all for the great and complex task of administering the tribal areas in the tribesmen's interest. His work on the Aborigines, Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs No. 14, refers to the art of recreation, an art which is lamentably absent from the ordinary Indian village and gives a clear and sane picture of the whole tribal problem.

The theme for *MARIA MURDER AND SUICIDE* is the murder and suicide practised among the lovely mountains of Bastar State. While primarily it furnishes a scientific study whose importance is to the anthropologist and the criminologist it cannot fail to appeal to the ordinary reader who will find much human experience in its account of the actual crime. The Bison-horn Maria are some of the most attractive people in India. They are not a criminal tribe and a study of the motives that lead them to murder and self-destruction throws much needed light on the mentality of the aborigines in every part of India.

THE AGARIA are the blacksmiths and iron smelters of the Central Provinces of India, a small and scattered people living in the lovely Maikal Hills and the Zamindaris of Bilaspar. The Agaria share with the Baiga and other neighbouring tribes many of the social customs and habits which go to fashion much of the pattern of their lives. This volume under review may be regarded as a supplementary to the author's work on the Baiga where is fully described an attitude to sex, a system of magic, a scheme of primitive jurisprudence and a policy for the future that would apply equally to any of the tribes inhabiting the Maikal Range. The totemistic customs of the Agaria are highly developed and of great significance. The marriage of myth and craft is the main theme of the book and gives the Agaria great significance. The Agaria are a people absorbed in their craft and their material; they seem to have little life apart from the roar of the bellows and the clang of hammer upon iron. The Agaria myths reveal the fundamental

ideas regarding life and nature, and sentiments attaching to these ideas in the Agaria mind. Their myths are confused and contradictory. Their heroes blend into one another and change their character and even their sex—Lohasur, for example, is sometimes male and sometimes female. But they are alive and so long as they live, the primitive smelting industry cannot altogether die. The author has given pointed reference and attention to the great contribution of the Agaria to magic and has provided a fascinating study of the people who but for the general decay of the useful primitive arts, would today be happy, busy and prosperous, and filled with the creative joy of fashioning their magic iron. In reviewing these books one cannot help deploring the demise of S. C. Roy, the father of Indian Ethnography, whose knowledge of these tribes extended to over forty years. He lived with them, shared their food and their homes and spoke their language with idiomatic intimacy. He won their love and trust by fighting for them in the District councils and the legislatures.

The importance of folk-songs in documenting anthropological studies, as throwing light on the mentality of simple people and the pleasure it gives as fine poetry in its own right can hardly be exaggerated. Verrier Elwin and Shama Rao Hivale have collected during a period of twelve years in the eastern part of the Central Provinces living among the Maikal Hills 619 songs, some of them short, others of ballad length; and one a minor epic.

In the *FOLK-TALES OF THE MAHAKOSHAL* Verrier Elwin has translated 150 stories from Mahakoshal, the ancient name for the eastern part of the Central Provinces and some parts of the Eastern States. The stories are arranged according to their dominant motifs and are edited with full comment and notes. These works have assembled and preserved the oral literature of the Middle India. Even the remotest and shyest aboriginals have been affected by the wide diffusion during the centuries of the chief motifs of Hindu fiction. Legends of the Vedic texts reappear perhaps, much elaborated, and generally parallel with these run the Jaina performances. The later novelists have also made their contribution. Oftentimes we find the narratives to be stories of

the globe-trotters. The Folk Tales of Mahakoshal are invariably in prose. Each chapter has an introduction, and a prefatory note concerning the subject-matter detailed in it. Some stories have a remarkable humanitarian element. In a legend of the Silver Tree, the Raja has a dream, goes blind and, goes to his 'house of anger' and refuses to speak till his sons are persuaded to go to find the tree which alone can cure him. In another story the Raja fondly desires the jewelled Golden Cock and offers half his kingdom and an elephant load of treasure to whoever brings it to him and in still another story the Raja summons the Veddhas and bids them bring him the Golden Peacock on pain of banishment. In both the stories, the heroes are helped by birds and animals. There are of course love stories. There is a story of a maiden who lives inside a fruit. There is a struggle of youths amongst ruling princes. There is quest for love and treasure and of Kings and Battle. The admirable tale of Mara Kshattri reflects the day when hawk-hunting was known in Mandala as it is in Bastar. Throughout the stories, history and legend are inextricably mixed. There are faint echoes of the Lingo Legend. The wife of Singhisurwa is called Lingaram and the godling who saved Hirde Shah during his romantic adventures in Delhi was Rai Linga. Story number five in the magic articles motif perhaps originated in the East. In the story of a magic cot is given the incident of a carpenter boy who prepared a cot and sold it to the Raja and the legs of the cot saved the life of the Raja and his kingdom and brought him a bride for marriage. Another story describes the tragedy of Pu Sao of Tikopa which is one of the most extraordinary cases of suicide ever recorded. In a gathering of chiefs and other men of rank he broke wind very audibly. Overcome by shame he left them. Some days later he was found at the top of a cocoanut palm. He had committed suicide not by hanging, a common method, but by impaling himself through the fundament on one of the hard dry spathes, sharply pointed. Stories in the chapter of skin dress are varying in plot and incident containing at some critical point of their development the incident of transformation of hero or heroine by the adoption or removal of a skin disguise. In some the skin dress is worn by enchantment by the hero, in a second divine maidens wear a disguise or human

skin in order to approach human beings and in a third the skin disguise is assumed by human beings for some special purpose. The adventures of a younger brother are common in the literature of the world. He is generally the youngest. The special affection he kindles in his elders and sometimes his idleness and stupidity rouse the jealousy. Folk-tales here and everywhere often show a very strong sympathy for the under-dog but one should not imagine that there is any social or religious element in this but is simply what the story-teller recognised as the sentimental attractiveness of poverty, youth or weakness and the romance of bringing people from weakness to strength and poverty to riches. Next, as in the Lingo Legend, the hero is not altogether admirable from the family and domestic point of view. Throughout Central India as well in many parts of the sub-continent a younger brother stands in a privileged position in regard to his elder brother's wives. He can flirt and joke with them to the borders of decency and beyond. His embraces like his words are privileged. He has the first claim upon the elder brother's widow and should she marry another person compensation has to be paid to the younger brother. The Jealous Queen stories are perhaps intended to teach the dangers and distresses of polygamy. As Macculloch says there are no direct equivalents of this story in Europe, perhaps for the reason that polygamy has so long been offensive to Western minds. The stories relate to a polygamous raja contracting a supernumerary and generally unusual marriage. He treats the new wife with special consideration and when she becomes pregnant gives her a bell or drum so that she can call him when the crisis comes upon her. The Raja being absent at the young wife's confinement, the jealous co-wives substitute inanimate objects or animals for the child or children who are born and then co-wives dispose off the child or children in a way that is expected to lead to their death. The Raja on returning finds only a stone or animal as his young wife's child and banishes her. In some cases the children survive and in others after surviving for a short time they are killed as a result of the intrigues of the jealous co-wives. Where the children die they turn into trees or flowers. The child or children are recognised by the Raja, the recognition being accompanied in several

different ways. Mother and children are then reinstated and the wicked wives destroyed. Amongst the other subjects which are included in this interesting book may be mentioned tales, on the topics of the Contest Cycle, the Cheat and His Ways, Sadistic Tales, the Day-Dreamer, the Hero on Pilgrimage, the Language of Animals, the Revengeful Stories, Domestic Tales, Romantic Tales, Supernormal Births, Brothers and Sisters, the Relations of Men and Animals, Tiger Stories, Human Children Adopted by Tigers, the Beast Marriage, Snake Stories, Beast Fables, Cumulative Tales, Moral Tales and Miscellaneous Tales.

The translation of the FOLK SONGS OF THE MAIKAL HILLS is in poetry. A prefatory note gives the nature of the songs dealt with. The beauty of the Maikal Hills is completely revealed in these songs. The songs are not all the evidence, but they are an important part of it. They round off and complete the picture. They are much nearer real life than are the folk-tales for these seem to represent an escape from life rather than a reproduction of it. For example, the tradition of domestic fidelity and the duration of marriage. The songs of the Muria reflect the situation, though they are not wanting in love interest. The theme of the deserted lovee and the faithless wife and husband is almost unknown. The songs also abound with the descriptions of maidens betrayed by broken hearts and of the faithlessness of man. There is a fulness of undisturbed tribal life in the songs of Bastar. One of the most tragic things about the contact of the aboriginal with civilisation is the destruction of art and culture that so frequently follows. The destruction of beauty is always an evil but never more so than when it means robbing the poorest of the poor of the treasures that they have. The great Karma Dance of the Gond is a precious and lovely thing: The Dadaria songs alone are enough to redeem their culture from mediocrity. The Saila dance is splendid recreation and exercise. Yet all this is being rapidly destroyed by so-called reformers who leave nothing in its place except the filth of Holi and the obscenity of the marriage abuse! Twenty-two songs have been printed from the Baiga, nine from the songs of the Forest, three from the Agaria, and one from Phulmat of the Hills. Twenty of the Pardhan songs were

printed in *Man-in-India*, and twelve of the *Dadaria* now appearing in the volume under review also in the *Man-in-India* and the rest of the six hundred and nineteen songs are published in the work under review for the first time in print. The *Karma Dance* among the *Uraon* is celebrated after fasting. On the evening of the first day, a party of young people, of both sexes, proceed to the forest, and cut a young *Karma* tree or the branch of one, bearing which they return in triumph, dancing and singing and beating their drums, and plant it in the middle of the dancing ground. After the performance of a sacrifice to the *Karma Devta* by the *Pahn*; the villagers' feast, and the night is passed in dancing and revelry. Next morning, all may be seen at an early hour in holiday array, the elders in groups, under the fine old tamarind trees that surround the *Akhra*; and the youths of both sexes are arm-linked in a huge circle, dancing round the *Karma-tree*, festooned with garlands, decorated with strips of coloured cloth and sham bracelets and necklets of plaited straw, and with the bright faces and merry laughter of the young people encircling it, reminding one of the gift-bearing tree so often introduced at our own great festival.* The work is an interesting one. The *Rina*, *Sua* and *Tapadi* are dances for women and the *Rina* at least may once have been a ceremonial and patriotic performance before the *Rani* in the courts of the old *Gond* Kings. Today the *Rina* is danced at *Diwali*, and the *Sua* and the *Tapadi* (which is the *Baiga* version) during the cold weather from November to January. There are no very strict rules, however, and the *Rina* may also be danced at marriages. These dances are specially popular among married and old women, and members of the Hindu cultivating castes join freely with the aborigines in performing them. The *Saila*, the dance of men, may have originated as a patriotic demonstration before the *Raja* or as a ceremonial performance before the youths went out to hunt or fish. The *Dhandha Saila* is a very interesting type of dance. The song consists of a riddle, which is sung over and over again until the village challenged can answer it, whereupon the answer is often embodied in the song. The Dance is of the basic *Saila* type but includes movements intended to illustrate the riddle. The dance thus becomes a sort of charade. The

symbolism of the Love Songs, which is in some ways their most obvious and important character, is simply the symbolism of every day set to music. The Gond and Pardhan actually do think and talk in symbols all their lives. A symbol is the readiest cure for embarrassment, and can sooth over a business transaction or a hitch in one's love-making with equal facility. So when the emissaries go on the delicate business of arranging a girl's betrothal, they do not state their purpose directly, but say they have come for merchandise, or to quench their thirst with water, or seeking a gourd in which to put their seed. There are a great many small variations in the marriage customs of the tribes of the Maikal Hills but the main outlines are the same for Gond and Parhan, Baiga and Agaria as well as for the minor Hindu castes such as the Ahir, Dhulia, Pankaj and Dhimar. The marriage of the Gonds, Pardhan and the Agaria are celebrated in the house of the bridegroom in order to prevent any disaster that may befall the bridegroom's party. There are many significances relating to the marriage ceremony. The rest of the book deals with Sajani Songs, Biraha Songs, Cradle Songs, Songs of Married Life, Mourning Songs, Songs of Craft and Labour, Songs of the Cowherds, Social and Political Songs, Festival Songs, Dadara Songs, Songs of Snake Bite and A Pardhan Epic.

S. S.

Broken Silence. By Mirza Ahmed Sohrab. Price \$ 2.50.

Abdul Baha's Grandson. Story of a Twentieth Century Excommunication. By Mirza Ahmed Sohrab. Price \$ 1.50.

Both the volumes published by Universal Publishing Co. New York, for The New History Foundation, 132, East 65th Street, New York. N.Y.

BROKEN SILENCE is a review of soul and conscience. It is a confession made under duress. It was a tale that was never meant to be told. In this work students of comparative religion and philosophy will find a rare opportunity to study the case history of man. The dangers and pitfalls experienced by historic religions in their career are here presented as contemporary history in

terms of modern religious movement. As mentioned by Haridas T. Muzumdar this judicial vindication should encourage our generation to cherish all the more reverently the political as well as the human rights of man.

ABDUL BAHÁ'S GRANDSON deals with the remarkable story of excommunication in recent times within the Bahai movement, an action in direct opposition of the Founders—the Bab, Baha-O-Llah and Abdul Baha. The book under review is a protest against Facism in religion and is an argument based on the universal principles of tolerance and brotherhood as taught by prophets and sages of all times. The world is large; our pathways will probably never cross; and the light which we follow is the same; it falls on us without distinction and will guide us to the same goal.

The two volumes are a remarkable contribution to Bahai literature.

S. S.

Kama Sustras—The Hindu Art of Love. Edited by Dr. B. N. Basu.
The Art of Love in the Orient. By N. K. Basu.
Urban Morals in Ancient India. By S. L. Ghosh.

All the three books published by the Medical Book Company.

Post Box 10814, Calcutta.

THE authors of the books under review have done distinguished service by trying to explore many questions and problems concerning sex and sex life. From the point of view of social life and sex hygiene they possess an importance which cannot be gainsaid. Vatsyana, the distinguished author of *Kāmasūtra*, a critical digest of the very late centuries before Christ, furnishes the text of several observations contained in these books. The later medieval writers, Kokkoka of *Rati Rahasya* and Kalyanamalla the author of *Ānanda Ranga* of the sixteenth century A. D. are other writers whose works have been utilised by the authors. The proper study of man is man and the orb of life passes alternately through its two phases, vital and reflective, the dark and the bright, the procreative or creative and the imaginative or rational. So far as the Indo-Āryan life is concerned the proper study of man commenced with the Upaniṣads, through which one may trace step by

step the course of progress of the reflective man from darkness to light, from flesh to soul, from carnality to divinity, in the full-fledged pictures of glory out of its dark background. The ascetic morality and life-long abstinence form a virtue far from being a practical proposition. Consequently we cannot with an entirely puritanic outlook turn away from looking at things concerning a woman. Truly the woman is an eternal mystery to the man just as the man himself is to the woman. It is this thick shroud of mystery around the sense of mutual unlikeness that acts as the *causa provocateur* in impelling the one to probe into the secret and to gain more intimate knowledge of the other. The inspiring hymn of Sūrya in the R̥gveda gives a very thorough-going conception of marital life and it is in this point of view of the sacred order of marriage that these books would have to be closely studied.

S. S.

S'ri S'aṅkara's Soundaryalahari. (The Wave of Beauty) Translated by P. Sama Rao, B.A., B.L. Published by Messrs. B. G. Paul & Co. 4, Frances Joseph Street, Madras. Price Annas 8.

MR. SAMA RAO gives an excellent translation of Soundaryalahari, the famous composition of S'ri S'aṅkara which is regarded as assisting the devotee to attain the lotus feet of S'iva's consort, Pārvaṭī, known also as Umā and Bhagavatī. Here S'ri S'aṅkara-cārya, the protagonist of Nirguṇa Brahman, praises the quintessential beauty of the Mother of the Universe in glowing verse. Availability of the text would greatly add to the value of the translation.

S. S.

Javadwipa, Borobudur, Ramayana in Stone. By Swami Sadananda. Published by Sachi Dulal Dey. 49/B. Mirzapore Street Calcutta.

THESE pamphlets give an interesting and brief narrative of what the author saw during his tour in the East Indies. They are well written and beautifully illustrated. The description of the monument is simple, sincere and extremely absorbing. The author has done useful service in bringing prominently to notice these evidences of Hindu Culture in the Far East. Evidence of the achievements

of ancient Hindu and Buddhist India which still exists in Thailand and its neighbouring countries in the form of inscriptions, sculptures, temples and monuments is clearly brought out in these works of the Svamiji. R.H.R.

Adventures with Evil Spirits. By Joseph J. Ghose, M.A., D. Litt. (Edin.), Principal, Modern High School, Allahabad. Price Re. 1-8-0.

It is curious that the late Rajasabhabhushana K. Chandy should have been the inspirer of this work. The author says that this work contains his experiences over a period of twenty years and he has collected here what was previously published in several periodicals of the time. A large number of the educated classes amongst whom the reviewer is one, may have no faith in life after death and in the existence of spirits. While behaviour alleged to be due to evil spirits causing illness should be treated medically, it would indeed matter little should good luck or good spirit preside over man's destiny. The experiences referred to by the author have to be read to be enjoyed and cannot be referred to in a review. In some places they almost look like stories from the planchette to which reference might be made to a publication in this journal. (Vol. XXXIII. pages 140 to 178 and pages 281 to 301). Believe it or not, the stories undoubtedly make very interesting if not instructive reading. S. S.

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

Varahamihira's Brihat Samhita, Vol. I & II, with an English Translation and Notes by Panditabhushana V. Subramanya Sastri, B.A. and Vidwan M. Ramakrishna Bhat, M.A. Published by the author, 65, 3rd Cross Road, Basavanagudi, P.O. Bangalore. Price Rs. 12-8-0.

BRIHAT SAMHITA is a work of Śrī Varahamihira, reputed author of several works on astrology. It is really his *magnum opus* and one of the most highly esteemed, best known and frequently cited text-books. It is an authority on Hindu astronomy, astrology and social science, holding the first rank among the samhitas, unsurpassed for completeness, simplicity and consciousness and a

unique work in the *samhita* literature. The great Sanskrit dramatist Kālidasa appears to have left his influence on this work. Varahamihira appears to have been a staunch admirer of the poet Kālidasa. While he was not a pioneer in the field of *samhita* and following in the wake of Parasara, Garga and others to whom he refers, he belongs to the group of first rank scholars in scientific astronomy such as Āryabhata, Brahmagupta and Bhāskara.

Varahamihira was a native of Avanti and son of Ārya Dāsa of Ujjayini, born perhaps in 505 A.D. He was an ornament of the court of Vikramaditya. He is referred to by Viṣṇu S'arman who translated *Panchatantra* and by Kalyanavarman in his *Sārāvali*, Alberuni, the Arabian astronomer has translated the *Laghu Jātaka* of Varahamihira into Arabic and has eulogised *Brihat samhita* for its richness and poetic beauty. According to the author, a king should employ a chief astrologer assisted by four others. The chapters on omens give a great deal of useful information. Evil omens are the result of man's karma in previous births and they are intended to warn him against them. A whole chapter is devoted to explain the various types of the ārya metre containing three *ganas* and *yatis* and also many varieties of *Dandakas*. *Pancasiddhāntika* and *Brihat Jātaka* had already been completed before this work. Bhattotpala has commented upon the *Brihat Jātaka* and he has also written an exhaustive commentary on *Brihat Samhita*. The translation and the notes are very helpful, clear and suggestive. There are a number of rules enunciated to ascertain the probable effect of an undertaking from indications of the moment, from the cawing of the crow or the sneezing of a neighbour. Chapter XIV deals with *Kurma Vibhāga* or the shape of the earth, the division of the globe into nine sub-continent and the nine divisions of the 27 lunar mansions each mansion consisting of three stars commencing from *Krithikai* which have a bearing on the original divisions of the Zodiac starting from the star owned by the Sun, the lord of the nine planets and considerable geographical details. We compliment the author on his completion of this great encyclopædia at this advanced age and in these difficult days of securing paper and workmen.

S. S.

SANSKRIT

Rudradāsa's Chandralekha, (A drama in Prākṛt) The Prākṛt Text and Sanskrit-chaya authentically edited with a critical introduction, notes, appendix, select glossary, etc. by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, M.A., D. Litt. Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Price Rs. 6—0—0.

CHANDRALEKHA is a drama in Prākṛt of the Sattaka variety written by Rudradāsa of the Pārasava community. The heroine is the daughter of Chandravarman, the king of the Angas and she marries king Manaveda, the Zomorin of Calicut (1658 to 1662 A.D). The prominent rasa is Sringāra. Evidently the author has written this work on or about 1660 A.D. The plot closely resembles Karpūra Mañjari of Rājasekhara. It could be safely said that Nyāyachandra's Rambhāmañjari, Maikandeya's Vilāsavati, Visvesvara's Sringāramañjari and Ganasyama's Ānandasundari have taken their plot from the same source and have developed it according to their abilities. It appears that Ganasyama had woven his story independently of Rājasekhara. Of the Sanskrit plays, the same plot has been represented in one form or other in Śrī Harṣa's Ratnāvalī and Priyadarsika, Bhāsa's Svapnavāsavadatta and Kālidasa's Malavikāgnimitra.

This play is written in the seventeenth century of the Christian Era in accordance with Vararuchi's rules of Prākṛt grammar. This work establishes beyond doubt that the date of the play cannot be determined with precision by examining the structure and the language of the Prākṛt as is done by certain occidental, scholars, such as Berriedale Keith and others.

Dr. Upadhye in his excellent introduction has examined the drama especially Prākṛt drama in all its phases. He has mainly used the paper manuscript preserved in the Oriental Library attached to the University of Travancore. The notes, select glossaries, *Saddasui*, etc. mentioned in the end of the book will add to the greatness of the work and they will all help in the proper understanding of the play.

M. B. N.

S'ri Mudgala Purāṇāntargata Gaṇeśha Stotras. Compiled and Published by T. K. Rajagopalan. Copies can be had from T. R. Ramachandran, 37, High Road, Royapettah, Madras. Price annas fourteen.

THE manuscript of the work was found in the library of H. H. the Mahārāja of Orchha at Tikamgarh. Most of the stotras and and Upadeśas included in this compilation have a distinctly yogic trend. Ekadanta stotra is highly lyrical in quality and promises great good to those who chant it. R. H. R.

The Mīmāṃsāśloka-vārttika of Kumārila-bhaṭṭa with the commentary, Kāśīka of Sucharitamisra, Part III, Edited by Mimamsaka-ratna Mimamsavisharada Vedasriomaui V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, M. A. Honorary Director, University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum. Price Rs. 3-0-0.

THE work under review is the third of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's S'loka-vārttika with the commentary known as Kāśīka of Sucharitamisra. It contains the portions on *anumāna*, *sābda-upamāna*, *arthā-patti*, *abhāva*, *citraśkepha*, and *sambandhāksephā*. Kumārila lived in the seventh century of the Christian Era and Sucharitamisra lived in the eleventh century.

Kumārila has written three works on Sābhara Bhāṣya. S'loka-vārttika is a commentary on the first *pāda* of the first *adhyāya* Tantiavārttika begins with the second *pāda* of the first *adhyāya* and ends with the close of the third *adhyāya*. On the rest of the Mīmāṃsāstra his commentary is called Tuptika. In addition to these works he is said to have written two works, namely, Brahat-tika and Madhyamatika which are not available now.

Sābhara Svamin's work was very popular in Kumārila's days. Already Mimāṃsa had sub-divided into two schools of thought. Kumārila perfected one system and his pupil, Prabhākara the other.

The Buddhist system is sharply criticised here. Buddha prohibited the killing of goats etc. But the followers of Mimāṃsa allowed the killing of goats etc. in sacrifices only.

The late Mr. Embar Krishnamachariar in his excellent introduction in Sanskrit has made a close study of two systems of Mimamsa philosophy and has pointed out clearly the doctrinal differences of the two schools.

The editor in his English introduction has given a summary of the S'ābhara Bhāṣya up to the end of the *autpattika* sūtra. Our thanks are due to the editor in publishing this very useful work in these hard days. We recommend this book to all lovers of Mimāṃsa philosophy.

M. B. N.

Suvarṇasapati Sastra, Sāṅkhya Kārikā Saptati of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa with a Commentary. Reconstructed into Sanskrit from the Chinese translation of Paramārtha and edited with English Notes, Introduction and Appendices by N. Aiyaswami Sastri. Published by Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati. Price 6—0—0.

PUNDIT N. Aiyaswami Sastri has reconstructed into Sanskrit a commentary on the Sāṅkhya Kārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa from the Chinese translation of Paramārtha. The original is lost to us. There is evidence to show that it was in existence in the eleventh century of the Christian Era. Alberuni has taken materials from the original of this Chinese translation for his book called *Indica*, on the philosophy, religion, science and literature of India. It cannot be the Mātaravṛthi published by the Chowkamba Sanskrit Series, Benares, because there is dissimilarity of views between the two works. Could it be the Mātarabhāṣya mentioned in the *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra*, a jain work of the fifth century A.D. is a point to be considered by scholars before conclusions could be drawn.

Certain facts can be mentioned here, viz. The Chinese translation of Sāṅkhya Kārikā has been reconstructed into Sanskrit yet the original Sāṅkhya Kārikā has not been produced. But the ideas of Īśvarakṛṣṇa are present in the work. (2) The readers of Sāṅkhya Kārikā find a gap after the sixty-second Kārikā. They have introduced a new Kārikā there while this work clearly shows that there is no place for the sixty-third Kārikā. The ideas contained

in the sixty-third Kārikā are all present in the commentary of the sixty-second.

Pundit Aiyaswami Sastri has done a signal service by re-constructing into Sanskrit the Chinese translation of Paramārtha. This work will be a valuable asset to Sanskrit Literature and the authorities of the Sri Venkatesvara Institute deserve all our thanks.

M.B.N.

The Secretary requests that—

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THE GROWTH OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF
THE KĀDAVARĀYAS

By K. S. VAIDYANATHAN, B.A.

IN the hostility of the Kāḍavas with the Adigamāṇ king and his ally Kaṇkaṭagamārāyaṇ, revealed in the verse inscription from Vridhachalam, one may find the seed that eventually sprouted forth in the open rebellion of the Kāḍava chiefs, Maṇavaḷapperumal and Peruñjiṅga. The Koṅgu country which was divided into two principal divisions, north and south, was first conquered by the Cōḷa King Āditya I and ever since that time Cōḷa supremacy was acknowledged in that quarter. In the southern division of Koṅgu, we find a regular succession of kings bearing Cōḷa names and titles, from the time of Rājaraḷa I in the beginning of the 11th century A.D. to almost the end of the 14th century. Though information is not forthcoming as regards the question whether the first member of the Koṅgu Cōḷa line of the South Koṅgu was a prince of the Cōḷa family there is room for thinking that the kings of the new dynasty remained loyal subordinates of

the Cōlas. The history of the Koṅgu-Cōlas of the South Koṅgu reminds one of the Eastern Cālukya kings of Vēṅgi. While this was the case in South Koṅgu, North Koṅgu has a somewhat similar account to tell us. It had its capital in Ṭagaḍūr in Ṭagaḍūr-nādu, which country came to be termed Nigarilīśōla-maṇḍalam after its Cōla overlord. The renaming of the province shows that it was once subject to the authority of the Cōlas.

From times long past the Madhurāntaka Pottapi Cōlas were holding a subordinate position under the Cōlas. They were at first occupying a portion of the Ceded districts, but subsequently they moved down and settled in the vicinity of Kāñchi. The Kāḍavas of Kūḍal were their neighbours and they found themselves in conflict with them in the years just preceding A. D. 1186.¹ The claim of a Kāḍava chief to have prostrated to the ground the king of the North² must have reference to it, for at this early date we do not find any other northern power. The successful attempt of the Kūḍal chief was followed by his defeating the Adigamāṇ and his ally Kaṛkaṭagamārāyaṇ, who, like the Madhurāntaka Pottapi Cōlas were subordinates of the Cōlas. Nallasiddha's claim to have captured Kāñchi may have been a direct and subsequent action that followed the conflict between the Kāḍava chief and the Madhurāntaka Pottapi Cōlas. The devastation of the country of the Adigamāṇ by the Kāḍava chief appears to have been reported to the Cōla emperor for settlement. What was done by the Cōla king to maintain the 'balance of power' among his subordinates,—and more particularly to keep within bounds the growing power of the Kāḍavas,—may be inferred reading between the lines in a record dated three years later *i. e.* in A. D. 1189.² Though this record is only a compact between Kūḍal Araśanārāyaṇaṇ Ḍāppirandāṇ Kāḍavarāyaṇ, — who to judge from the time and titles, is no doubt identical with Vīraśekharaṇ Kāḍavarāyaṇ, — and Sengēṇi Viras'olaṇ Attimallaṇ Kulōthungaśōla Sambhuvarāyaṇ against another member of the Sambhuvarāya family, *viz.* Edirilīśōla Sambhuvarāyaṇ, we find it stated that the Cōla emperor directed the

1. No. 74 of 1918. Vriddhachalam Inscription.

2. No. 254 of 1919.

Kāḍava to confine himself within certain specified limits, that the chief ought not to form any alliance either offensive or defensive with certain other neighbouring chiefs and that he should not share in the spoils in the affrays in which he was allowed to take part. It is specifically stated that the transgression of limits on the part of the Kāḍava would result in the emperor's forces marching against him and causing him injury. Similar conditions seem to have been imposed also on the Adigamāṇ. But the injunction did not keep them long within bounds or bring about peace and amity between the two families. The support of the powerful Bāṇa chiefs was obtained by the Kāḍavas. Rājaraja Kāḍavarāyaṇ, better known as Maṇavāḷapperumāl, the successor of Viras'ōkhaṛa Kāḍavarāyaṇ, and two Bāṇa chiefs became so alarmingly powerful that it was considered expedient to form a confederacy of eleven chiefs in A.D. 1205, and they were made to swear allegiance to the throne of the emperor, and any sort of communication with the Kāḍavarāya and Bāṇa chiefs was prohibited³. Even this confederacy proved to be of no avail, as we find the Kāḍava trying to assert his independence. The differences between the Kāḍava and the Adigamāṇ and the restriction put on the former by the emperor to confine his activities to a limited sphere should no doubt have made him attempt to throw off his allegiance to the Cōḷa. In this humiliating position the Kāḍava chief could not remain long, and there is every likelihood that he joined the ranks of the emperor's enemies.

It will be easy to understand how the Kāḍavas of Kūḍal who were the subordinates of the Cōḷas for four or five generations came to be finally alienated from the side of their overlords and became their bitter enemies, if we can know how the main powers of South India stood during the time of the Pāṇḍyan civil war. One of the outstanding features of that long protracted unrest in the extreme South of the peninsula was that, against the party of Parākrama Pāṇḍya and his son Vīra Paṇḍya who invited the foreign forces of the Singhalese for aid, were ranged the Cōḷas and

3. No. 516 of 1902 and Q.J.M.S. Vol. XXXI, No. 1. Pp. 53-57 "Note on Bāṇa and Pāḷlava relationship in Circa A.D. 1200—80."

the Koṅgu. There is reason to believe that among the last two very cordial relationship existed. It is a patent fact that the Cōḷas had cause to fear the Singhaliese on whom they had brought untold miseries by making part of Ceylon a Cōḷa Colony.

Māgavaramaṇṇa Sūndra Pāṇḍya I waged a fierce battle against the Cōḷa King Kulōtunga III, in the last years of that King's reign, and after inflicting defeat, gave the Crown of the Cōḷas to the Bāpas at first⁴. This fact clearly emphasises the high confidence this Pāṇḍya king had placed on the Bāpa chief, and the important part the Bāpa must have played as the ally of the Pāṇḍya. When the defeated king, who was deprived of his crown and country, and who ran to the forest, hearing, that the conqueror had commanded him to attend the state audience at Poṇṇamarāvati with a promise of being restored, the Cōḷa, 'returned with his wife and presenting his son first, himself remaining behind, prostrated before the victorious lion throne of the conqueror and begged.'⁵ The Pāṇḍya having chartered the terms by which the Cōḷa king had to abide thereafter, conferred on the Cōḷa king's son, Rājarāja III, the lesser title of 'Chōḷapati', the crown and an expansive territory.⁶ This happened in Circa A.D. 1216, from which date Rājarāja III counts his regnal years.

It is clear that in the Pāṇḍyan civil war the chief powers of Southern India were divided into two factions, one of which counted in its ranks the Cōḷa and Hoysala kings with their generals and subordinate chiefs supporting the members of the line of

4. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXII. p. 43. No. 47 of 1937-8 and A.R. on S. I, Ep. 1938 p. 94.

5. Compare the treatment which Kulottunga III meted out to the Pandya and Chera kings in the stanza:—

திருவிழந்த தென்னவனுஞ் சேரலனும் வந்திறைஞ்சி

அரியணையின் சீழிருக்க வவரமுடுமேலடிவைத்து

படிவழங்கி முடிவழங்கிப் பண்டியற்கு விடைகொடுத்துக்

கொடி வழங்கு கில்லவற்குக் கொற்றவர் பெறுதிருவழங்கி

Colavamsa Charitam p. 113 n.

6. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXII p. 42 and Vol. XXIV p. 160.

Kulas'ekhara Pāṇḍya and the other had in its side the members of the line of Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Māḡavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya supported by the Pallava (Kāḍavarāya) and Bāṇa chiefs of the mainland and the Singhalese forces.⁷

The Cōlas had contracted an alliance with the powerful Hoysalas and a few years later, Rajarāja III, assumed a defiant attitude against the Pāṇḍya, wishing perhaps to wipe out his former disgraceful crowning by the Pāṇḍya victor Māḡavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, but certainly to cease his obligation to pay him tribute. It is stated that in the fifth year corresponding to A.D. 1220-1 he resolved not to remain submissive under the feet of him (the Pāṇḍya) who formerly gave him his crown, refrained from executing the commands (of the Pāṇḍyan as agreed upon), refused to pay (the agreed tribute) and sent forth a large army against Māḡavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I.⁸ In about the same time the Bāṇas rose again and the Cōla king sought the aid of his ally and relative, the Hoysala Narasimha II. The first enemy against whom the Hoysala forces waged war was the Bāṇa, for it was on him the conquered crown of the Cōlas was at first bestowed by the Pāṇḍya and because we have seen that the Bāṇa and the Kāḍava chiefs were attempting to become independent of their erstwhile Cōla overlord. In A. D. 1222 the Hoysala king Narasimha II started from his capital with the object of establishing the Cōla firmly on his throne⁹, conquered the Bāṇa¹⁰, and the Kāḍava¹¹, and marching against Ranga in the south¹², defeated the forces of the Pāṇḍya that had opposed the army sent by the defiant Cōla king and which in a deadly war had caused great damage and succeeded in establishing a new capital in the south

7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV. p. 161.

8. *Ibid.* Vol. XXII. p. 22 f.

9. Compare a record of Narasimha of A.D. 1223 which says 'why describe his forcible capture of Adiyama, Chera, Pāṇḍya, Magara and the powerful Kāḍava? Rather describe how he lifted up the Cola and brought under his order all the land as far as Sethu.' E. C. V. Cn. 203, Pt. I p. 22ff.

10. E. C. V. Pt. I. Cn. 203. Introduction p. 22f. Cn. 197.

11. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII. Pp. 163-4. E. C. V. Pt. I. p. 22ff, Cn 203.

12. E. C. VI. Cn. 56

at Kāṇṇaṇūr *alias* Vikramapura on the borders of the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries, five miles from Srirangam.¹³ After these successes, the Hoysala King Narasimha assumed the title 'Chōḷarājyasthāpanāchārya' and another meaning that he was the thunderbolt in splitting the rock that was the Pāṇḍya.¹⁴ Narasimha stationed his valiant son Virasōmēs'vara at the new capital invested with independent authority and power and as evidence of this we have the earliest reference to Kāṇṇaṇūr in an inscription dated in A.D. 1228 stating that Virasōmēs'vara was ruling at the place.¹⁵ Thus we see that the enemies of Narasimha and the Cōḷa were the allies and friends of the Pāṇḍya king Māravarmaṇ Sundara Pāṇḍya and in consonance with this we find that the Pallava styled himself as Karnāṭa-bhupa-māna maudian and Pāṇḍyamaṇḍala sthāpanasūtradhara and the rut elephant to the forest *i.e.* the Cōḷa,¹⁶ that some Singhalese generals fought by his side against the Hoysala and Cōḷa forces¹⁷, and that the Baṇa boasted himself of having received tribute from the Cōḷa.¹⁸

This was followed by a conflict between the Kāḍava and Yādava Narasimha in the 6th year of Rājarāja III *i.e.* A.D. 1222 which took place at Uṭṭatti.¹⁹ In this battle Yādava Narasimha fighting on behalf of the Cōḷa king succeeded in inflicting defeat on the rising Kāḍava chief who is doubtless identical with Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṇ *alias* Maṇavaḷapperumāl. But the Kāḍava though wounded was not so easily to be baffled. He succeeded eventually in establishing his independence as is clearly evidenced by the discovery of his 5th year record at Sōṇḍamagnālam.

13. *Ep. Ind.* Vol., XXII. p. 44.

14. *Ibid.* and Vol. XXIV. p. 160 f. *Q.J.M.S.* Vol. XXX. No. 1. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 162; *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I, Pt. II. p. 507.

15. *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I. Pt. II. p. 507.

16. *S. I. I.* Vol. IV. No. 1432-B; and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIV. p. 161.

17. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 161.

18. Nos. 507, 543 of 1902.

19. No. 271 of 1904. In this fierce battle, Narayana Pillai, the brother-in-law of Viranārasimha Yāḍavarāya, lost his life and services were instituted in his honour to the God at Yogimallavaram. Viranarasimha styles himself 'Kāñchi-Kāñchana Kāḍavakulantaka' and 'Kāḍvarāyadis'āpaṭṭa.

one of the strongholds of the Kāḍavarāyas.²⁰ This he seems to have effected in all probability with the aid of the Bāṇas.

The Kāḍava in his efforts at becoming independent, subdued the Cōḷa king at Tellāru, deprived him of all royal insignia, and after imprisoning him along with his queen and ministers took the Cōḷa country.²¹ In this attempt his invincible army led by Kōpperuñjiṅga had to fight with the forces of the Kannaḍas *i.e.* the Hoysalas who were ever-ready to fight in the cause of the Cōḷa being stationed at Kaṇṇapur, their southern outpost. This achievement of the Kāḍavas at Tellāru might be placed in about A.D. 1228-9. It is most probable that Māṇavāḷapperumāl began his rule after this achievement.

After some time the Cōḷa king seems to have been released from prison under some conditions, and as will be seen in the sequel, was for a second time imprisoned in Sēndamaṅgalam. The events that followed are clearly known to us from two accounts, the Tiruvendipuram inscription of Rājarāja III and the historical romance, the Gadyakarmamṛta, of Kāḷakalabha or Sakalavidyāchakravartī.²² The following facts are available from them. Rājarāja, the Cōḷa king, defeated in battle by the Pāṇḍya ruler, abandoned his capital and sought to reach the ruler of Kuntala his ally, with his retinue. On his way, he was overtaken by the Kāḍava king, who had a vanguard of forest troops and who was assisted by armies commanded by Singhalese (*mlēchchadēsa*) generals, who resembled Sambhara in stratagems and was as it were an embodiment of guile in the cunning devices he adopted, and who descended on the running Cōḷa king all of a sudden, took him captive together with his retinue after a fight. The Kāḍava took his royal prisoners to his capital city Sēndamaṅgalam (Jayanta maṅgalam). The news that the Cōḷa Rājarāja had been imprisoned in Sēndamaṅgalam by the Kāḍava, that he had destroyed his kingdom with his army and that the Śīva and Viṣṇu temples were

20. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 22f.

21. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 22f.

22. M. R. Kavi in Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara Journal Vol. VI, pp. 677-8.

destroyed, reached the ears of the Hoysala Narasimha, the ally and father-in-law of the Cōla king, and he exclaiming that his trumpet shall not be blown unless and untill he maintained his reputation of having been the establisher of the Cōla country, started from the capital Dorasamudra on his campaign. Going by way of the Gujahlatti pass he uprooted the Bāṇa country, seized the Bāṇa who was an obstacle on his way along with his women and treasures and in a few days reached the northern bank of the Kaveri river and encamped at Pāchchūr²³ in the neighbourhood of Sriraṅgam. From there he sent his valiant daṇḍanāyakas, Jagadobbagaṇḍa and Samudragoppaya with an order to destroy the country of the Kāḍava, to capture Kopperuñjiṅga, to punish all his *sāmantas*, and to liberate the Cōla emperor²⁴. Accordingly they took leave of their king and destroyed the village of Ellēri and Kolliyūrmūlai in the southern part of Chidambaram where Kopperuñjiṅga had been staying and Toludagaiyūr where Sōḷakaṇ one of the generals of Kopperuñjiṅga had been stationed. They killed the Kāḍava's officers, who included Vīragaṇḡanādāvāṇ, Śiṇattaraiyaṇ and four Singhalese generals among whom was one Parākrama-bāhu, seized their treasures and horses. The Hoysala generals having worshipped the God at Chidambaram (Perumparrappuliyūr) started again and destroyed rich villages including Toṇḍaimānallūr, caused the forest to be cut down and halted at Tiruppādirippuliyūr. They destroyed Tiruvadigai, Tiruvakkarai and other villages; burnt and destroyed the port towns on the sea and drinking channels to the south of Vāraṇavāsi river and east of Sēndamaṅgalam, and when they were about to encamp at that place Kōpperuñjiṅga submitted

23. In the Trichinopoly District. *Ef. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 161.

24. Probably confirming the accounts of the Gadyakarnamṛta and the Tiruvendipuram inscription, a record of A.D. 1233 says "The great ministers Rāyadaṇḍanātha, guardian of the army, sole champion in the world, Appaya Daṇḍanayaka and Goppaya Daṇḍanāyaka, having made petition to Narasimhadēva, destroyed the Kāḍavaraya, and released and brought the Cōla king there—he being pleased granted of his grace, Arakera, belonging to Daṇḍinasērivara as a Koḍage." *E. C.* XII. Gb. 45. It must be noted that the name of Rāyadaṇḍanātha is omitted in the Tiruvendipuram Cōla record.

that he would release the Cōla king. The liberated Cōla was then escorted to his territory and at the village of Tiruvendipuram the Hoysala generals took leave of Rājarāja. The generals, after the accomplishment of the liberation of the Cōla king successfully levied tribute from the Pāṇḍya.

The account narrated above makes clear certain new facts, viz. that the Pāṇḍya King of the day had defeated the Cōla king, that the latter abandoning his country made an attempt to reach his ally, the lord of Kuntala, that taking advantage of the situation the Kāḍava Kopperuñjiṅga made him prisoner on his way after a fight and took him captive to Sēndamaṅgalam, and that the generals of Naraśimha after successfully releasing the Cōla from captivity levied tribute from the Pāṇḍya. That the date of all these happenings was Circa A.D. 1231-2 is clear from the date of the Tiruvendipuram epigraph, the 16th year of the reign of Rājarāja III. Consequently the defeats inflicted by the Pāṇḍya, who is no doubt identical with Maṅavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, on the Cōla is clearly different from the happenings of A.D. 1216 and 1222 to which we have already referred. The fact that the Cōla had rid himself of his subordinate position to the Pāṇḍya and of paying tribute to him, in Circa A.D. 1222, assisted as he was by the power of the Hoysala king, must have left the Pāṇḍya with a reason for a fresh attempt to subdue Rājarāja III. The Kāḍava who was ever ready for every opportunity that offered itself to him to strike heavy blows on his Cōla overlord in order to make himself independent of him, was the Pāṇḍya's ally. And if we can rely on the account of the Gaḍyakarṇāmirta the Pāṇḍya king seems to have defeated Rājarāja in A. D. 1231-2 in a battle, and made him fly for succour to his ally and relative, the lord of Kuntala, abandoning his capital. But that the success of the Pāṇḍya was short-lived is clear from the same account, as the Hoysala generals are said to have levied tribute from the Pāṇḍya after releasing the Cōla king from prison and leaving him in his country.

One thing that is worth noting is that the Cōla king was opposed by the forces of the Pāṇḍya, Kāḍava and Bāṇa (Mahara) at the same time, being heckled from all sides, and this is clearly

indicative of the friendship that existed between them. The Cōḷa king was weak and he sought the aid of the Hoysalas and only with their assistance he was able to put down the attempts of the Bāṇa, Kāḍava and Pāṇḍya foes.

In the account of the Gaḍyakarṇāmrita the Kāḍava is said to be the king and that his capital city was Jayantamaṅgala, *i.e.* Sēndamaṅgalam. This is clearly a reference to the Kāḍava chief Maṇavāḷapperumāl who began his rule with Sēndamaṅgalam for his headquarters as is proved by his 5th year record from that place. Therefore it is plain that Maṇvāḷapperumāl was ruling at the time and that assisted by his valiant son. Kōpperu-ñjiṅga, overcame the Cōḷa, took him captive and imprisoned him for a second time at Sēndamaṅgalam and when the Hoysala generals after having caused great damage to the country, approached the very outskirts of the capital city of the Kāḍavas, Peruñjiṅga perceiving that no other alternative course was open, surrendered the royal prisoner to the Hoysala generals.

We shall pause to determine the rough date when Maṇavāḷapperumāl became king. The inscriptions of Kōpperuñjiṅga range from his 2nd year to the 36th year of his reign.²⁵ We have numerous records of his dating in almost all the years of his reign, but so far no inscription dated in his first regnal year has been discovered, and this conspicuous feature leads us to infer that he must have actually ascended the throne only in his 2nd regnal year, and that the rule of his father Maṇavāḷapperumāl, whom he succeeded came to a close in the end of his first year *i.e.* in A. D. 1243-4. From an inscription of the 19th year of Kōpperuñjiṅga in the Natarājā temple at Chidambaram²⁶, it is clear that Maṇavāḷapperumāl had a rule of 15 or more years. Thus the initial year of Maṇavāḷapperumāl must have been Circa A. D. 1228-9. This result is in conformity with the facts noted above *viz.* that the Kāḍava took the Cōḷa country after the Teḷḷaru battle in Circa

25. 2nd year Nos. 505 of 1902, 69 and 411 of 1918, and 409 of 1921. 36th year- Nos. 456 and 487 of 1902, 370 of 1908 and 104 of 1934-5.

26. No. 103 of 1934-5.

A. D. 1228-9, and that he was ruling at the time when the Hoysala generals came to rescue the Cōḷa imprisoned in Sēndamaṅgalam. Thus Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ with the assistance of his valiant son became king in Circa A.D. 1228-9 with Sendamaṅgalam as capital.

Even after the incidents revealed in the Gaḍyakarnāmrita and that in Vailūr and Tiruvendipuram epigraphs, in A.D.1237, (corresponding to Durmukha) Virasōmēs'vara, the Hoysala king, made an effort to put down the Kāḍavas, evidently on behalf of his brother-in-law, the Cōḷa king, by heading a campaign against the Kāḍava chief. In the course of this he is stated to have encamped at Maṅgalam probably identical with the place of the same name in the Vriddachalam taluk, situated about 10 miles south-west of Sēndamaṅgalam²⁷. But this attempt does not seem to have resulted in any great success for the Hoysalas. And Peruṅjiṅga was able to carry out the designs of Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ to a decisive end and in the year A. D. 1243-4,²⁸ he succeeded his father and reigned for a long period of 36 years.

27. E. C. IV. Ak. 123.

28. His accession took place on a date between 4th February and 30th July A. D. 1243. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII p. 165.

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THE PRAVĀSIN (TRAVELLER) IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

BY S. V. SRINIVASA RAGHAVACHAR, M.A.

(Continued from Vol. XXXVII. No. 1. Page 42).

TO return to the Pravāsin, however much he may enjoy his journey in the beginning, he is bound to reach a stage when he wishes he had not started. The fatigue of travel, the unbearable separation from his wife and the lack of any kind of company for most of the time contribute to his misery and mental depression. Occasionally, he would meet fellow travellers in choultries or village residences and most readily he would try to get acquainted with them. Absence of company makes the new acquaintance more and more precious and the Pravāsin never hesitates to take a stranger into his confidence and tell him everything that his bereaved heart is full of, whereas under ordinary circumstances, he may think twice before saying anything important and personal, even to his best friend. The weary pravāsin in this situation takes relief in telling everything about himself to this new friend whose nature may be least known to him. Sometimes when he learns that the friend travels towards his own province, he ventures to send messages also with him so that it may infuse new hope in his wife.

Thus the Pravāsin proceeds from village to village, from city to city and from country to country. He meets various peoples and stays with them but never for long⁹¹. The Pravāsin travels mostly during day-time and reaches the nearest village by the evening. He spends the night either in the village residence which was mainly meant for travellers and outsiders or in the house of some hospitable inhabitant of the village. Then he gets

91 Cf. परसदननिविष्टः को लघुत्वं नयाति.

up very early in the morning and continues his journey. During the hot summer days he carries on much of his travel in the morning while the sultry afternoons are utilized for rest. This is a rough description of his routine. But according to the financial and social status of the traveller there would be great variation in his routine.

The most important and interesting part of a Pravāsin's experiences is that which concerns the village belles and the *prapāpūlikās* or the keepers of the wayside drinking booths, who distribute water, butter-milk, etc. for travellers. As stated above, the traveller used to meet various types of men and women and his association with these would influence him to a considerable extent. A village belle in separation intent on attracting him with her beauty and desiring only to speak to him; and he, responding to her request thinking that after all it is not a sin to speak to a lady; then, coming to learn from her that she is in long separation and badly in need of company; and further that she was badly treated by her unkind lover etc. and finally his own mental condition forcing him to respond in greater and greater measure; these and other happenings are frequently referred to by Sanskrit writers. The adventurous spirit of the traveller generally attracted the attention of the ladies in the village but in the case of such ladies as were separated from their husbands or did not like them,⁹² this admiration gradually developed through sympathy, appreciation, attachment and friendship into love. But this romance was attended with many dangers. From the uncharitable mother-in-law who would not even grant some space for him to sleep, to the other jealous suitors in the village everything proved to be a barrier to the progress of their stealthy romance. Thus it is evident that the traveller could not always count on a hospitable reception. He often met with the kind of treatment described in the following verse :

92. He being physically deformed as stated in अथ स्वां जननीं etc. Kavindra-vacanasamuccaya, 521 or fatigued as mentioned in यामिन्येषा बहलजलदैः etc., Śringaratilaka 13.

मातर्धर्मपरे दयां मयि कुरु श्रान्तेऽथ वैदेशिके

द्वारालिन्दक कोणकेऽथ निभृतं यातास्मि सुप्त्वा निशि ।

इत्युक्त्वा सहसा प्रचण्डगृहिणीवाक्येन निर्भस्मितः

स्कन्धन्यस्त पलालमुष्टिविभवः पान्थः पुनः प्रस्थितः ॥⁹³

“Virtuous lady, have pity on me, a tired traveller from abroad ; I will sleep in a corner of this outer verandah just this night and go away. The traveller said this, but frightened instantly by the speech of the terrible housewife, he set out again with his sole treasure of a handful of straw on his shoulders.”

This invariable attitude on the part of the mother-in-law is sometimes cleverly counter-acted by the ‘*virahini*’ daughter-in-law who appears more cruel and unsympathetic in treating him but certainly has a soft corner for him in her heart. She rains on him a shower of sharp words, but at the same time cleverly suggests her love for him. There are numerous verses of this type and many of them are cited to illustrate the varieties of *Dhvani* which is held to be the soul of poetry by an important school of criticism. Even when there is no room for unkind treatment, the traveller who comes for rest and lodging is, as stated, by Dr. D. K. De, ‘the subject of delicate addresses.’ A few of these poems might prove interesting :

एकाकिनीयदबला तरुणी तथाह

मस्मद्गृहे गृहपतिश्च गतो विदेशम् ।

कं याचसे तदिह वासमियं वराकी

श्वश्रुर्ममान्धबधिरा ननु मूढ पान्थ ॥⁹⁴

“I am all alone, a helpless young woman, and the master of the house is abroad ; whom do you entreat here ? This wretched mother-in-law of mine is deaf and blind. Are you not a fool, Oh ! traveller ?”

93. S. R. B. p. 208-31 ; Sub 2416 ; *Sadukti*—2-174-1.

94. Sub. 2234, S.R.B. p. 354. a poem attributed to Rudra.

बाणिज्येन गतस्स मे गृहपतिर्वातापि न श्रूयते
 प्रातस्तज्जननी प्रसूततनया जामातृगृहं गता ।
 बालाहं नवयौवना निशिकथं स्थातव्यमस्मिन्गृहे
 सायं सम्प्रति वर्तते पथिक हे स्थनान्तरं गम्यताम् ॥⁹⁵

“The master of the house has gone on business and not even news about him has yet been received. His mother has gone to his son-in-law's house to attend to her daughter's confinement. A young girl as I am Oh ! traveller, how am I to stay in this house in the night ? Evening has already set in ; therefore, please go elsewhere.” The logic of this statement is quite obvious.

The very prohibition suggests not only her consent but also her wish. Sometimes even after the traveller is thus allowed to sleep inside the house, circumstances present further obstacles to their romance and the desire of the yearning ‘*virahini*’ is not fulfilled and the Prāvāsīn proceeds on his journey leaving her much more afflicted. This unhappy result may be due to external hindrances or lack of quick decision on the part of either of them. The pricking conscience, or the watching mother-in-law or the absence of privacy may prevent their free behaviour and force them to be separated for ever. This however, is rare, but the picture where even after the fulfilment of stolen love, the woman feels afflicted in the morning at the departure of the ‘*Pathika*’ is quite common. A lady behaves cruelly at first and gives lodging to a pravāsīn reluctantly but falling in love with him she spends the night quite happily in his company. When in the morning, he goes away, her condition is :

मर्त्ययन्त्या तृणानि स्वप्नुं दत्तानि यानि पथिकस्य : ।
 तान्येव प्रमाते आर्या आकर्षति रुदती ॥⁹⁶

“The pieces of straw given after threats of denial, to the traveller for sleeping at night, were, in the morning, gathered by the dame

95. S.R.B. p. 355-82. *Sringaratilaka*, 12 cf. also वाचस्पत्यैरगतिं

Kavindravacanamasuccaya. 503.

96. G. S. IV.-79.

with tears." It is observed that the lady plays the more dominant role in such situations and that the innocent 'Pathika' who wants little more than lodging behaves in an unintelligent manner or rather, that he waits for very clear expression of her love for him. Here are a few poems wherein the lady asks the traveller to note the beds carefully during day-time and warns him not to stumble into the wrong bed at night ;

श्वश्रुरत्र निमज्जति अत्राहं दिवसकं प्रलोकय ।

मा पथिक रात्र्यन्ध शय्यायां मम निमङ्गयसि ॥ १७

" My mother-in-law sleeps here, and here myself ; mark it well while there is day light, lest, O wayfarer, thou dost stumble into my bed at night." ⁹⁷

The subtle caution and suggestion of her desire that she ventures to give deserves considerable appreciation from a critical point of view. Many such verses outstep the boundaries of propriety according to conventional standards but this much is certain that whatever state of society they may reveal to us⁹⁹ their literary excellence and appeal are indisputable. And it is in this light that these verses should be appreciated.

Sanskrit poets cannot be blamed for expatiating upon the unfaithful behaviour of the 'Proṣitabhartṛkā', for in the same breath they extol the attitude of a real 'Pativartā' also.

The following poem of Jagannātha is noteworthy :

किमिति कृशसि कृशोदारि किं तव परकीय वृत्तन्तिः ॥

कथय तथापि मुदे मम कथयिष्यति पथिक तव जाया ॥¹⁰⁰

" Why are you slender O, slender-waisted one? "

" What do you care about others' affairs? "

97. *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 20, quoted in other principal works on poetics also. cf. also अम्बरोत्तिष्ठ etc., *Kavindravacanasaṃuccaya*. 505. Sub. 2247.

98. Dr. S. K. De's translation.

99. In fact whether they reveal any state of society or not is itself controversial. This has been discussed above.

100. cf. *Bhāminivilāsa*, *S'ṛnagārollāsa*,

“ But yet, tell me, just for my satisfaction,”

“ Your wife will tell you, O traveller ”.

A real ‘*Pativrata*’ does not tolerate a stranger’s inquisitiveness especially if he speaks in the manner described above.¹⁰¹ Hence her powerful retort which silences him once for all and corrects his improper conduct.

The ‘*Prapūpālikā*’ plays as great and interesting a part in the Pravāsin’s life as the poor but optimistic *virahīṇi* of another traveller. ‘*Prapū*’ is a wayside inn generously instituted to supply cool drinks to thirsty travellers. These seem to have been common in ancient times during almost all seasons. In modern times it is customary to organise such drink houses (if we may call them so) during summer, festive occasions and *jātras*.

The ‘*Prapūpālikā*’ is pictured as most captivating. Her two breasts are compared to unsurmountable mountains on the road which prevent the traveller from returning to his house. Hence she is requested to conceal them and be kind to the Pravāsin’s poor wife at home who, it is said, lives only till the end of the day fixed for his return. This beautiful verse may be noted :

अवधिदिनावधिजीवाः प्रसीद जीवन्तु पथिकजनजायाः ॥

दुर्लङ्घ्यवर्त्मशैलौ स्तनौ पिबेहि प्रपापालि ॥¹⁰²

“ Pray, do allow them to live, those wives of the travellers, who live only till the day fixed (as the latest) for their return. Oh, *Prapūpālikā*, please conceal your breasts, those unsurmountable mountains on the way.” Even the very sight of her is said to be enough to make the traveller forget his wife. A special value is attached to the water that she pours into his hands. But quite often, the traveller relishes the sight and company of the ‘*Prapūpālikā*’ more than the drink itself, of which he is supposed to be in need.

101. Notice the suggestion in तथापि मुदे मम and the way of his addressing her which prove his bad intentions.

102. Sāhityamimamsa. p. 5. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

दूरादेव कृतोञ्चलिर्नतु पुनः पानीयपानार्थिना
 रोमाञ्चोपि निरन्तरं प्रकटितः प्रीत्या न शैल्यादपाम् ।
 रूपालोकनविस्मितेन चलितो मूर्ध्ना न शान्त्या तृषा-
 मक्षुण्णो विधिरध्वगेन घटितो वीक्ष्यप्रपापीलकाम् ॥ ¹⁰³

“ Hands were folded even from a distance, but not for asking a drink. The body was openly thrilled, out of love ; not on account of the cold ; wondering at her beauty (he) nodded his head but not as an indication of the quenching of his thirst. Thus at the sight of the *Prapāpālikā* an original kind of procedure was adopted by the wayfarer ”.

Being separated from his wife and immensely fatigued, the traveller thus finds almost a paradise in the ‘*Prapā*’ and adores the charming and seductive beauty of the *prapāpālikā*. Not unfrequently, the *prapāpālikā* also falls in love with the handsome young man. Such situations are most beautifully depicted in in many Prākṛt verses. One of the most popular poems runs thus :

ऊर्ध्वाक्षः पिबति जलं यथा यथा विरलाङ्गलिश्चिरं पथिकः ॥

प्रपापालिकापि तथा तथा धारां तनुकामपि तनुकरोति ॥ ¹⁰⁴

“ As the traveller who (knelt and) was looking up at the face of the maiden received the water in his folded hands and allowed it to trickle down the interstices of his fingers, the maiden too on her part made the stream from the pot thinner though it was already thin enough ”. ¹⁰⁵

This is why an experienced friend gives to the traveller a piece of valuable advice as described in the following verse :

गन्तुं सत्वरमीहसे यदि गृहं व्यालोलवेणीलतां

द्रष्टुं वा स्वकुटुम्बिनीमनुदिनं कान्तां समुत्कण्ठसे ॥

तत्तृप्यान्नपि मुग्धमन्थरवलन्नेत्रान्तरुद्धाध्वगा-

मेतां दूरत एव हे परिहर आतः प्रपापालिकाम् ॥ ¹⁰⁶

103. S. R. B. p, 339-119. Attributed to Bhattabana ; Sub. 1709.

104. G. S. 11-61—cf. also अङ्गुल्यग्रनिरोधतः etc. Sub. 1771.

195. Prof. C. R. Narasimhasastry's translation.

106. Sub. 1721. S. R. B. p. 329-120.

“ If you, O, brother traveller, desire to return to your house soon or yearn everyday to see your dear wife, then, thirsty though you may be, avoid even at a distance, this *prapāpālikā* who by her very artless, wide and tremulous eyes obstructs the travellers.”

The *virahinis* of the village and the *Prapāpālikās* seem to lend a new colour to the life of the pravāsin. They act like oases in a desert and seem to reward the traveller for all his strenuous and adventurous deeds. On the whole a certain romantic, adventurous and care-free atmosphere pervades the experiences of the traveller, for which the *prapāpālikās* and the village belles are very much responsible.

After such varied and interesting experiences the traveller, who we may assume, has finished his errand or pilgrimage as the case may be, thinks of returning. In spite of the numerous distractions on the way, he does not usually forget his own happy home. When he wants to return nothing proves unfavourable, whereas the heat of summer, the extreme cold of winter, the miry ground of autumn and such other natural features acted as great impediments to him when he started. They now cease to be obstacles, when he returns home. The pleasure of returning to his beloved after this hazardous journey eclipses all troubles. The fatigue of the traveller returning in the hot summer afternoon is said to be relieved by the moon-light, as it were, of his beloved's face borne on his mind.¹⁰⁷ In the same manner, the rainy season and its arrogant manifestations do not in the least perturb the returning traveller. He is said to think as follows:

गर्ज वा वर्ष वा मेघ मुञ्च वाऽशनि तोमरम् ॥
गणयन्ति न शीतोष्णं वङ्गमामिमुखा नराः ॥¹⁰⁸

“ O, cloud, roar, rain or give forth thunderbolts as you please Men going towards their beloveds never care for heat or cold.”

This is only true of the traveller who is sure of meeting his beloved, alive, cheerful, happy and expectant of his return. But

107. चित्तरापत कामिनीं मुखशशियोत्सनाहृत क्लान्तयः is the text.

108. Sub. 1724.

where the traveller has reason to apprehend a catastrophe at home, the picture is quite different. He is constantly disturbed by some bad news wherever he goes. In every village he hears something relating to the death of a lady owing to her husband's travel or his non-return before the rainy season. It is easy to imagine the effect of such news on the poor traveller. Naturally, even when he approaches the village he does not quicken his steps. He hesitates to enter the village hopefully. He looks at the cloud above his house apprehending it to be the smoke rising from the funeral pyre to which his wife is preparing to throw herself. This is expressed in the following poem :

आलोकयति पयोधरमुपमन्दिरमभिनवाभ्रभरनीलम् ॥
दयिता रचित चितानल धूमोद्गम शङ्कया पथिकः ॥¹⁰⁹

Further when he meets an inhabitant of the village he questions him as follows in order to make sure that his wife is alive :

भद्रात्र ग्रामके त्वं वससि परिचयस्तोऽस्ति जानासि वार्ता.
मस्मिन्नध्वन्यजाया जलधररसितोत्का न काचिद्विपत्ता ॥
इत्थं पान्थः प्रवासावधिदिनविगमापायराङ्गी प्रियायाः
पृच्छन्तान्तमारास्थितनिजमवनोप्याकुलो न प्रयाति ॥¹¹⁰

“Dear friend, do you live in this village? Are you well acquainted with it? Do you know the news? Did no woman, a traveller's wife, die here, being over-powered by the roar of clouds? Thus inquiring the news of his wife, the agitated traveller apprehending the calamity due to the expiry of the date of return, does not proceed towards his house even though it is near enough.”

The condition of the pravāsin who does not expect this tragedy is described in this verse :

गायति विहसति नृत्यति हृदयेन धृतां प्रियां विचिन्तयति ।
समविषमं न च विन्दति गृहगमन समुत्सुकः पथिकः ॥¹¹¹

109. } *Sub.* 1743.

110. *Sub.* 1788. S. R. B. p. 343-96.

111. *Sub.* 2408 ; S. R. B. p. 208-30.

“(He) sings, laughs, dances and thinks about his wife borne by him in his heart. The traveller who is anxious to return to his house does not notice even the ruggedness of his path.”

The state of his mind when he returns as well as that of his beloved when she awaits him anxiously are depicted most beautifully in Amaru's verses. Even when the *pravāsin* is far away from his house this is what he is inclined to do :

देशेन्तरिता शैश्च सरिता मुर्वीभृतां काननै
र्यत्नेनापि न याति लोचनपथं कान्तेति जानन्नपि ।

उद्ग्रीवश्चरणामरुद्धवसुधः प्रोन्मृज्य सास्ते दृशे

• तामाशां पथिकस्तथापि किमपि ध्यायन्पुनर्वीक्षते ॥¹¹²

“The traveller knows full well that between him and his beloved there lie stretched in many a country, hundreds of rivers, hills and forests and that by no effort of his, can he, ever gain a glimpse of her, yet he cranes his neck, stands on tip-toe and drying his tear-laden eyes looks again with wistful longing, in the direction in which he has left his beloved (behind).”¹¹³

The expectant wife is described thus :

आदृष्टिप्रसरात्प्रियस्य पदवामुद्ग्रीक्ष्य निर्विण्णया

विच्छिन्नेषु पथिष्वहः परिणता ध्वान्ते समुत्सर्पति ।

दत्तैकं सशुचा गृहं प्रति पदं पान्थस्त्रियारिर्क्षणे

मा भूदागत इत्यमन्द वलितग्रीवं पुनर्वीक्षितम् ॥¹¹⁴

“As long as the eye could see she scanned the path by which he was to come. As darkness crept in and the path began to grow shorter her heart sank within her. She took but a single step towards her door and immediately said to herself ‘perhaps in this moment when my back is turned, could he not have come?’ She

112. *Amarusataka*. 99.

113. Prof. C. R. Narasimhasastry's translation:

114. *Amarusataka*. 76. cf. also the section on *वर्त्मावलोकनी* in *Saduktikar-namrita*. p. 107.

therefore looked once more with a deep sigh and backward curve of her neck." 115.

The scene of the pravāsin's reunion with his wife after a long separation has an additional excellence about it. Love is nourished by separation if the separation has not already led either of them astray. And the realisation of love after separation is praised in glorious terms by the great writers in Sanskrit literature. Separation, therefore, is regarded as the touch-stone of the perfection of love. 116

The first meeting of the lovers after separation generally results in tears. There is, as it were, a recollection of the circumstances under which they parted and all that happened afterwards. The 'separated wife,' so much habituated to sorrow and disappointment, cannot, at first, believe that her husband has returned safe from a journey full of perils. Her first response to his return has been pictured by Jagannatha as follows :

विरहेण विकलहृदया विलपन्ती दयित दयितेति ॥

आगतमपि सा सविधे परिचयहीनेव वीक्षते बाला ॥¹¹⁷

"Her heart being broken by separation, the girl who was bewailing him, beholds him as though she were unacquainted with him, though he was near her." The verse as explained by the commentator 118 has another suggestive idea. The expression परिचयहीनेव is explained as एतेनौदासीन्यातिशयोच्यते. It seems that the wife is trying to punish her lover for his long absence by pretending non-acquaintance. All the same, she cannot be cruel to him ; nor can she afford to be separated any longer. There is, thus, a mixture of grief with her sense of vengeance and anger. In a moment all this terminates in joy and their mutual exchange, of experiences during the period of separation, takes place. The beloved now hastens to

115. Prof. C. R. Narasimhasastry's translation. It is better to have 'quick instead of 'deep sigh' in the translation.

116. Cf. नविना विप्रलम्भन सम्भोगः पुष्टिमेव तो etc.

117. Bhāminivilāsa, Sringārrollāsa. 67

118. *Ibid* P. 113.

accord hospitable treatment to the fatigued husband while the servants and neighbours interest themselves in conversation with the new comer. The pravāsin gives an account of his travel and grand and vivid descriptions of the places that he visited.

Though the formal reception is over, the real meeting of the husband and wife is yet to come and is eagerly awaited by both of them. The day is spent with effort in the company of visitors, but at night also these people continue to engage the returned 'pravāsin' in conversation. This delicate situation and the remedy devised by the impatient and witty wife are described by Amaru in this verse :

आयाते दयिते मनोरथशतैर्नीत्वा कथचिदिनं
 वेदगध्यापगमाच्चडे परिजने दीर्घा कथां कुर्वति ।
 दष्टास्मीत्यभिधाय सत्वरपदं व्याधूयचीनांशुकं
 तन्वङ्गया रतिकातरेणमनसा नीतः प्रदीपश्शमम् ॥¹¹⁹

"The beloved hath come back and with him have returned a hundred desires. The pale lady passed the day-time in impatience, but in the evening the witless people of the house engaged him in endless conversation. 'Something has bitten me', so saying she waved her silken garment as if in a flurry and put out the light thereby, with a heart impatient with desire." ¹²⁰. The fulfilment of love is generally attended by such and other impediments. Another of the same kind is described by the wife to her companion in the following verse :

समायाते कान्ते कथमपि च कालेन बहुना
 कथाभिर्देशानां सखि रजनिरर्धं गतवती ।
 ततो यावद्वीलाकलहकुपितास्मि प्रियतमे
 सपत्नीबा प्राचीदिगियमभवत्तावदरुणा ॥¹²¹

'Dear friend, when somehow after a long time he returned, the night was reduced to half by the stories relating to various places,

119. *Āmarasataka* 77. Attributed to *Adbhutaphullaka* in *Sub.*

120. Dr. S. K. De's translation.

121. *Sringaratilaka*. 9.

and by the time I became angry with him in course of my sportive quarrel, this 'East' ¹²², like a rival wife, became already red ¹²³ (as if in jealous anger)." The final purport, however, is that the whole night slipped away without being noticed. This brings to our mind the beautiful statement of Bhavabhūti.

अविदितगतयामा रात्रिरेव व्यस्रीद ॥ ¹²⁴

The happy couple, it goes without saying, reap the fruits of love and hereafter all the previous misery adds strength and permanence to their everlasting love, in the form of pleasant recollections.

In conclusion, it must be stated that though travel in ancient times was beset with various troubles and risks, the life of a traveller had a semi-romantic and semi-adventurous atmosphere about it. Travel was cherished as an ideal in life and the hardships that it entailed were courted in a sportive manner. And further these hardships though exaggerated to a certain extent in literature, were not, in reality, so serious. So also the social relations of the pravāsin with the village or city maidens and the *Prapāpālikās* also is as depicted by Sanskrit poets, more of imagination. In all these cases, the literary excellence of the poem, rather than their historical truth, should be appreciated by the learned *Sahṛdayas*.

Viewed in this light, the poems explained above reveal to us that the pravāsin is a delightful specimen of human nature. With a sympathetic allowance for his follies, if any, on the way, he becomes an interesting object of study. Around him centres much of poetic genius, imagination and wit in the domain of Sanskrit literature.

It may also be noted that not only the Indian pravāsin, but travellers in general, had their own part to play in contributing to the knowledge of the world and human nature. A careful study

122. Note that the word प्राप्ति being in feminine gender is characterised as a lady.

123. That is, it was already morning.

124. Uttararamacarita. 1—27.

of ancient history reveals to us that he and he alone played the greatest part in bringing about peaceful cultural contacts and in enriching the knowledge of his own people by importing fresh ideas from outside. Invaders caused much harm to the invaded though in the end the invasion might have brought about cultural amalgamation. But the travellers never disturb the peace and integrity of the culture or nation with which they associate; they are like peaceful embassies sent by providence to various countries in order to promote mutual knowledge and prosperity. The travellers' impressions of a country often serve as valuable pieces of evidence to reconstruct the history of a land. In short, it is easy to imagine how much more a Fahien, Huien-t-sang or Alberuni can help to bring about cultural contacts and international peace, than an Alexander, a Chengizkhan or a Mahmud of Ghazni.

Coming to the narrower spheres of thought we can see from available evidence that the traveller in ancient times helped a good deal to spread the knowledge of medicine¹²⁵, geography, philosophy and such other subjects. Indian works on the science of erotics generally include a chapter on the characteristics of women belonging to various nationalities. Though much of scientific accuracy cannot be attributed to it in these times, it is true that the analysis of racial characteristics and the definition of the various types of women were arrived at after careful investigation and verification. In ancient times they were held, for the most part, to be true. In other sciences also such as astrology, medicine and palmistry, we have such ready made generalisations, the rationale of which have not been handed down. We are not however, concerned here with the accuracy of the facts. It is enough if we note that in such investigations, the traveller¹²⁶ had an important part

125. The Arab travellers are renowned to be the pioneers of the oriental science of medicine.

126. One named Padmasri who is the auothor of नागरसर्वस्व is said to have been a Buddhist wanderer (parivrajaka)

127. प्रवास्यमूर्तिका, प्रवासमूर्तिका, and प्रोषितमूर्तिका are three kinds of प्रोषितमूर्तिका heroines, as stated in Sringarmanjari of Bada Akbar.

to play by way of collecting the prevalent ideas and opinions from various quarters and communicating them to others.

The extreme popularity of this interesting specimen of human nature, viz. the pravāsin, has given rise to a convention in Sanskrit poetics. Canons of criticism have been formulated that 'Pravāsa' should be depicted and described in literature. The 'proṣitabhartṛkū' (one whose husband will be, is about to be or is¹²⁷ separated) has become one of the eight types¹²⁸ of samānya¹²⁹ heroines. In literature, the ideas of pravāsa and sandeśa (the message of hope) have been immortalised by the master poet Kālidāsa in his Meghasandēśa, which has been imitated by numerous other writers. Thus in literature as well as in criticism, the pravāsin is held in high esteem and admiration. The benefits and glory achieved by him are described as follows :

देशे देशे किमपि कुतुकादद्भुतं लोकमानाः

सम्पाद्यैव द्रविणमतुलं सद्य भूयोप्यवाप्य ।

संयुज्यन्ते सुचिरविरहोत्काण्ठितामिः सतिमिः

सौख्यं धन्याः किमपि दधते सर्वसम्पत्समृद्धाः ॥ S.R.B. p. 98-4.

"Beholding with eagerness something wonderful in every country earning much wealth and returning home again; Indeed, the favoured ones who are blessed with all fortunes, are again united with their wives eager and yearning (for union) on account of long separation, and made to experience inexpressible happiness."

(Concluded)

128. The author of the Srīngaramanjari mentions nine types.

Thus there is some controversy on the exact no. of types of heroines.

129. स्वकीया, परकीया and सामान्य are the three main types of heroines.

RGVEDIC THEORY OF INSPIRATION

By P. S. SHASTRI, M.A., M.LITT.

(Continued from Vol. XXXVII. No. 2 page 91.)

THE Vedic poets were conscious of receiving inspiration from superhuman beings. Brāhmaṇaspati is the generator of all prayers, like the adorable sun who generates the rays by his radiance.³⁸ Being the regulator he understands the purport of the hymn.³⁹ Rudra encourages the seer in composing hymns,⁴⁰ as such he is the Gāthapati. Agni appreciates the pious prayer of the poets.⁴¹ Sōma is the leader of the minds.⁴² Agni is exalted by the hymns, so that he may be born more worthy of praise. Indra is the lord of the true praises,⁴³ and is beautiful and lovely like a father of the minds. He even provides the objects that instigate and inspire the poet. He animates the dawns for the sake of the worshipper.⁴⁵ He encourages his adorers and he is to be propitiated by prayer alone.⁴⁶ The poet has to sing beautifully invoking this praiseworthy lord.⁴⁷ He instigates the song.⁴⁸ Indra Vai-kunṭha, in a sort of monologue way, similar to that of a Jīvan-mukta, says that he is the instigator of the sacrificer.⁴⁹ Indra is to be praised with holy hymns and approached with veneration. The minds adhere to him like the affectionate wives of a loving husband.⁵⁰ "*Indram vāñīr anūṣata*" (1.7.1). The As'vins must

38. R. V. 2-23-2 Vis'veṣāmi janitā brahmaṇāmāsi.

39. 2-23-19 Tvamasya yanta sūktasyabodhi.

40. 1-43-4 Gāthapatim medhapatim Rudram.

41. 2-9-4 Tvam s'ukrarasya vacaso manotāh.

42. 3-10-6 Agnim vardhantu no giro

Yato Jāyata ukthyah.

43. 3-31-18 Patir bhava vītrahan sunṛtānām girām.

44. 3-49-3 Matinam piteva cāruh.

45. 3-34-5 Acetayad dhiya imā jaritre.

46. 6-45-19 Kiriṇodanam brahmavāhastamam huve

47. 8-96-10 Suvṛktim preraya.

48. 8-88-6 Ucathasya coditā.

49. X-43-1 Aham bhuvaṃ yajamānasya Coditā.

50. 1-62-11 Patimānā patnīr Us'atirusantam spṛsantitva savasāvaṃ maṇiṣāh.

stimulate their words of truth, perfect their sacred rites, and inspire their numerous faculties.⁵¹ They sink or sail, mystify or clarify their position with inspiration.

It is the god-given prayer, Devadatta.⁵² Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman have established the holy text.⁵³ Indra and Varuṇa granted wise words and hymns.⁵⁴ It is the divine prayer, divine speech.⁵⁵ They praise with divine minds.⁵⁶ *Vāk* is the queen, the delight of the Gods. The Gods first generated the words of the hymn.⁵⁷ The super-physical being himself creates the hymns and the poet is the medium through whom it is revealed to us. They were entirely under divine control, which instigates them to compose, which inspires them with great force. Everything proceeds from the absolute reality:

*“Tasmād Yajñāt Sarvahutaḥ
ṛcaḥ sāmāṇīyajñire
Chandānsi jajñire tasmād
Yajus tasmād ajyāta”* (X. 90. 9)

The poetic utterance too is divine. It is prophetic, transcendental and intuitive. The Vedic poets often say,

“Vacasū daivyena” (4. 1. 15)
“Gr̥ṇanto devyā dhiyā” (8. 27. 13)
“Dīvyā vāñī” (8. 100. 10; 101, 16) etc.

This divineness is carried to its logical extreme where the poet and his composition are equally regarded as divine.

“Indro Brahmendra ṛṣiḥ” (1. 16. 7)

Indra is both the hymn and the seer. The poet and his composition are identical.

51. X-39-2 Codayataṃ sūṇṛtāḥ pinvatam dhiya, ut
Purandhīr irayatam tad Us'masi.

52. 1-37-4 Devadattam brahma gāyata.

53. 7-66-11 Vi ye dadhuh.....Yajnam ktum cād ṛcam.

54. 8-59-6

55. 4-1-15 Vacasā Daivyena.

56. 8-27-13 Gr̥ṇanto devyā dhiyā

57. X-88-8 Sūktavakam prathamam
ādid.....ajanayanta devāḥ

In inspiration the matter is some thing new, hitherto unknown to the individual. It is original. A fresh spring comes out from an unknown quarter. The Vedic seer, Suhotra, observes that he has fabricated with his own mouth, the unprecedented, comprehensive and gratifying praises.....

“*Apūrvyā purutamāni.....santamāni Vacānsi*” (6. 32. 1)
The poet creates the hymn, as if it were entirely unknown till that time anywhere in the Universe.....

“*Upastutim asṛkṣi.....anyāmiva*” (8. 27.11).

And it is a truth. A fresh lightning illumines the hitherto dim regions. The activity of the mind at that time is so deep and different from that of the habitual course, that “we are tempted to say that it alone is true and good.”

It colours the manner of appearance also. In an inspired mood, the utterance has a peculiar thought, melody and phrase, which we cannot explain fully. It is not made, but born. It flames, dawns, steals upon the mind of the poet. It cannot be the product of exertion, for spontaneity and naturalness, besides originality are its prime features. The hymn is raised to Indra.....
“*Indrāya brahma udyatam*” (8. 58. 9). They raise a composition to Sōma, the institutor.....

“*pra.....Vaca udyatam matibhiḥ*” (9. 10. 3, 1)

A hymn has risen amongst them.....

“*Asmākam brahmodyatam*” (X. 22. 7).

The sacrifice, the hymn, the sacred text, the voice is raised to the deity...“*Yajue Mantra brahmodayatam vacaḥ*” (X. 50. 6). These passages clearly reveal the idea of the sprouting of a hymn in their midst. The vision comes and that is the seed. Immediately the sprout is there. There is altogether no effort. Freely and easily does he express his valuable experience. The Kanvas glorify Indra; like waters rushing down a declivity the hymn spontaneously seeks Indra,⁵⁸ in whose hands he rests in the inspired moments. Here

58. 8-6-34 Abhikavā anūshatāpo napravatū yatih |
Indram Vananvatī matih.

is a suggestion about the pattern in verse making, and about the free and natural flow of poesy as well. Medhyātithi's sweetest songs, the hymns of praise, ascended to Indra, like triumphant chariots laden with wealth and charged with unfailing protections ;⁵⁹ while Bharadvāja's new, pure, graceful praise issues from him to Agni Vais'vānara, like the Sōma juice from the filter.⁶⁰ There is a beauty and a simplicity that inspires one in such a flow of poesy.

The hymn is earnest⁶¹ and great⁶², grateful⁶³, propitiating⁶⁴, great and respectable⁶⁵, gratifying and pious, emulous in earnestness⁶⁶, devout, faultless and appropriate⁶⁷, sanctifying,⁶⁸ earnest and gratifying⁶⁹, pleasant⁷⁰, effused with loud praise.⁷¹ ample⁷², suited to the season, and Ṛtviyāvatī⁷³. The many sacred hymns, who are the mothers of the sacrifice, give praise; they purify Sōma, the infant of heaven⁷⁴. 'By means of the speech produced for the sacrifice, the sun has shone bright.⁷⁵

Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy thinks that " Vedic poetry is neither

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59. 8-3-15 Ud utye madhumattamagīrah
Stomāsa irate satrājītodhanasā
Akṣītotayo Vājayanto rathāiva
60. 68-1 Vais'vanarāya matirnavasi
Soma iva pavate cūruragnaye
61. 3-33-5 Rāmadvam me vacase somyāya.
.....Acha bṛhati manisa
62. 3-51-1 Giro bṛhatir. Cf. 5-19-3.
bṛhaduktha; 6-49-4 bṛhati manīṣā.
63. 5-52-13 Namasya rāmayāgirā.
64. 8-11-7 agne tvam Kāmayāgirā.
65. 3-24-4 devobhir mahayā girah.
66. 7-18-3 Mandrā giro devayantir upastuh.
67. 3-31-13 Giro yasminn anavadyah samicih.
68. 4-56-1 S'ucayadbhir arkaih.
69. 5-43-8 Acha mahibṛhati s'antamāgih.
70. 6-15-7 Samidhā girā gr̥pe.
71. 9-10-4 Barhaṇā girā.
72. 2-2-1 Tanā girā.
73. 8-12-10 Ṛtviyāvatī dhitiḥ. Cf. 8-80-7.
Iyam dhīr ṛtviyāvatī.
74. 9-33-5 Ṛtasya mātarah.
75. X-138-2 S'us'ocasūrya ṛtajātayā girā.

'fine' nor 'decorative', but simply highly accomplished in execution.....what is truly moving in Vedic 'poetry' is not a lyrical quality", but one of profundity: the lauds are means to happiness far rather than to pleasure, and it would be an affectation to speak of them as "literature".⁷⁶ These lines and their author evidently ignore the views of the Vedic poets themselves upon their own works of art. Ideas of form and matter, harmony and beauty, music and melody, that are so often stressed in the *samhitā*, of which a selection has been made above, clearly prove the contrary. Nobody denies the profundity of the Vedic hymns; but equally so is the lyrical quality. A great mystic is always intensely personal, impatient and musical. That the whole of the *Ṛgveda* was set to music in *Sāmaveda* tells us plainly the lyrical nature of the text. It is well to remember that a lyric alone is intensely musical and profound. Lyric and profundity are not separable terms. They have an indissoluble union, and the Vedic poets, who are mostly mystical, paid much attention to the artistic side and confessed it. There is much of fine and decorative poetry in the hymns dealing with *Usas*, in the *Sāmavādas* and ballads.

The poet has fabricated acceptable and pious works like rich garments, and like a chariot:⁷⁷ as such they are a respectable present. They are powerful and new⁷⁸, abound in the best possible and choice idioms. In short they are "*su-ukta*," well uttered, and possess miraculous powers being the emanations from the divine,⁷⁹ for divine speech enters the seers—

“*Yajñena vācaḥ padavīyam āyan
Tām anṛ avindann rṣiṣu praviṣṭām
tām ā bhṛtyā Vy adadhuh purutrā
tām sapta rebhā abhisam navante.*” (X. 71. 3)

76. A. K. Coomaraswami; New approach to the Veda P. 8

77. 5-29-15 Indra brahma Kriyamañajusasva
Yāte s'aviṣṭha navyākarma
Vastreva bhadrā sukr̥tā vasūyu
Ratham na dhīrah svapa atakṣam

78. 1-143-1 Prataṇyasīm navyasīm dhītim.
Aṅneye Vāco matim sabhasas sūnave bhare.

79. 3-53-12 Vis'vāmitrasya rakṣati brāhmedam bhāratam
janam. Cf. 7-33-5 Vasiṣṭhasya stuvata
Indro as'rod urum tṛtsubhyoo akṛnoo U lokam.

Through sacrifice they have approached the path of speech and found it centered in the seers; having got possession of it they diffused learning; the seven resounding metres join together. It is thus the hymns appear to be emanations from the divine, from the super-sensual regions.

When they acquire such a skill they have every right to be proud of their compositions. Kutsa's praise of Rudra is the sweetest.⁸⁰ Sutambhara Ātreya addresses the sweetest speech to Agni.⁸¹ Bhauma speaks, "may Aditi receive my affectionate, pleasant prayer, as a mother does the endearments of a son; I address to Mitra and Varuṇa the pleasing, delightful prayer, that is approved by all the gods."⁸² The hymn is unprecedented, comprehensive and gratifying.⁸³ They award the fit praise only in their compositions. The adorations and praises of the poets have a variegated atmosphere. They spread everywhere like the branches of a tree.⁸⁴ Vasiṣṭha's praise of Indra and Viṣṇu is ample and magnifying, mighty and wide-striding.⁸⁵ The hymns are radiant like the flames of fire.⁸⁶ With delightful hearts they invoke Agni. The poet does not utter his compositions simply to be disregarded.⁸⁷

Viśvāmitra lays hold of the skirts of Indra's robe with sweet flavoured hymns, as a son clings to the garment of his father.⁸⁸ Sōma is graced by the praises.⁸⁹ Kavasha, on the death of Mitrātithi,

80. 1-114-6 Sāvdoḥ svādiyah

81. 5-11-5 Tubhyedam agne madhu mattamam vacah.

82. 5-42-2 Stomam.....hṛdyam susevam brahma priyam
devahitam yad asti aham mitre varuṇe yan mayobhu

83. 6-32-1 Apūrvyapurutamāni.....s'antamāni Vacānsi

84. 7-43-1 Yeṣām brahmāṇyasamāni Viprā Viṣag Viyanti
Vanino na s'akhaḥ

85. 7-99-6 Iyam maniṣa bhṛhati bhṛhantoru
Kramā tavaśā Vardhayanti rare
Vām stoma Vidatheṣu

86. 8-6-7 Agneḥ s'ocir na didyutah

87. 6-52-14 Vacānsi paricakṣyāṇi vocam

88. 3-53-2 Svādiṣṭhayāgirā

89. Matibhiḥ pariṣkṛtaḥ—9-105-2

the father of Upamaśravas, observes that Mitrātithi's words were sweet like a pleasant field given to a beggar.⁹⁰ They praise Brhaspati in the conflicts where heroes win with auspicious praises.⁹¹ The hymns purify everything.⁹² When the hymn is concentrated in the deity the adoration is enhanced.⁹³ Viśvamanas, like his father, glorifies the radiant Agni, with excellent and pious hymns.⁹⁴

All these views on their own compositions tell us plainly that they are unanimously sweet, pleasant, hearty, well chiselled, spontaneous, excellent and pious. The ṛṣis have superhuman character. It is said that the glory of the Vasiṣṭhas is like the splendour of the sun, their greatness as profound as the depth of the ocean; their praise has the velocity or the racy swiftness of the wind and by no other can it be surpassed.⁹⁵ As soon as he was born all the gods have sustained him with celestial vitality.⁹⁶ This sage is reported to be cognisant of both worlds.⁹⁷ As he was possessed with understanding or fine intellect, the wise and intelligent Varuṇa himself gave instructions to him, his worthy disciple; and declared the mysteries of the hidden.⁹⁸

Likewise the Kus'ikas are the first-born of Brahma. Vis'vā-mitra is said to be the generator of the gods, and attracts the

90. X-33-6 Prasvādaso girah Cf.

Payasvān māmakam vacah

91. X-67-9 Matibhiḥ S'ivābhiḥ

92. Cf. X-135-7 Ayamgirbhiḥ pariṣṛtaḥ

93. 6-38-3 Paramayā dhiyā

94. 8-23-23 Manhiṣṭhābhīr matibhiḥ

95. 7-33-8 Sūryasyeva Vakṣatho jyotiṣaṁ

Samudrasyeva mahimā gabhirah

Vātasyeva prajavo nānyena

stomo vasiṣṭha anvetave vah

96. 7-33-11 Drapsam skānam brahmaṇādaivena

Vis'vedevāḥ puṣkare tvādadanta

97. 7-33-12 Sapraketa Ubhayasya pravidvan

98. 7-87-4 Uvāca me varuṇe medhirūya

trih sapta nāmāghnyā bibharti

vidvān padasya guhyānavocad

Yugāya Vipra Uparāya S'ikṣan.

deities, being a great seer. With a justifiable pride Vis'vāmitra says :

“ *Vis'vāmitrasya rakṣati brahmedam
bhāratam janam.*”

Hence it becomes an ample, well-uttered and graceful prayer⁹⁹ and as the poet says it is *supesa*, well decorated. His praises are all-acquiring, concentrated and eager ; they embrace Maghavan as wives do a husband ; as women embrace a man free from defect for the sake of protection.¹⁰⁰

When the poet is conscious of himself as receiving inspiration, then it becomes religious. With the advancement of the spiritual activity, the poet does not try to ascribe his work to himself. They are like flowers in the hands of wanton gods ; they dally with them in sport. The gods are the absolute and original creators of hymns, for the inspiration which manifests itself through the poet is transcendental. Parallel cases of poets being conscious of receiving inspiration from celestial beings are innumerable in the histories of literature. Milton calls upon the deity before he proceeds with his epic to sing for him. William Blake had mystic experiences and he thought that some superhuman being was dictating him the songs. In the introduction to his 'Songs of Experience' we read,

“ Hear the voice of the Bard !
Who present, past, and future, sees ;
Whose ears have heard
The Holy Word
That walked among the ancient trees.”

In the prelude to his Book of Urizen we have,

“ Eternals ! I hear you call gladly.
Dictate swift winged words, and fear me not
To unfold your dark visions of torment.”

99. 7-32-13 Mantram Akharvam sudhitam

Supes'asam dadhātayajniyeṣvā

100. X-43-1 Achāma indram matayah svarvidah

Sadhricir Vis'va Us'atir anūṣata

Pariṣvajante janayo yathā patim

Maryam na s'undhyum Maghavānam Ūtaye.

This plain, naked truth has been poetically told many a time, by the Vedic poets as the foregoing pages show. They never confessed or said anything prosaically. Matter-of-factness was their foe. The great poet 'knows and rests in the eternal world of Pure Being, the "Sea Pacific" of the God-head, indubitably present to him in his ecstasies, attained by him in the union of love' ¹⁰¹ Here consciousness is dominated by one fixed idea or intuition that brings about a marvellous metamorphosis over the entire life as lived hitherto. The whole thing is not brought about by a conscious effort on the part of the individual. It is the result of inspiration. Raphael once wrote to Leonardo da Vinci, "I have noticed that when one paints one should think of nothing; everything then comes better." The same idea is clearly and in a better way expressed by St. Teresa, when she writes: "Let the will quietly and wisely understand, that it is not by dint of labour on our part that we can converse to any good purpose with God." ¹⁰² She was even powerless to set down anything but that which her master put into her mind. William Blake testifies to the same effect in one of his letters: "I have written the poems from immediate dictation, twelve or sometimes twenty or thirty lines at a time, without premeditation and even against my will. The time it has taken in writing was thus rendered non-existent, and an immense poem exists which seems to be the labour of a long life, all produced without labour or study." ¹⁰³ All the great artists, poets and mystics share the illuminated life to a certain extent. They have their sip in the ambrosial cup of intellectual vision and know the divinity and the divineness of those moments. This state floods him with a new vitality, with a new light—

"The world is charged with the grandeur of God
It will flame out, like shining from shark and oil."

And it is here that Browning's Saul gives vent to the lovely lines.¹⁰⁴

101. Underhill P. 36

102. Vida Cap 15⁹

103. Letter, April 25, 1803

104. Saul XVII

"I but open my eyes,—and perfection, no more
and less,
In the kind I imagined full fronts me, and God is
seen, God
In the star, in the stone, in the flash, in the sail
and the clod."

William Blake describes the inspired state in almost identical terms but with more mystical words—

"To see a World in a grain of sand,
And a Heaven in a wild flower,
Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand,
And Eternity in an hour."¹⁰⁵

And Tennyson tells in his *St. Agnes Eve*,

"He lifts me to the golden doors;
The flashes come and go;
All heaven bursts her starry flood,
And shows her lights below."

In his higher Pantheism, he sees the Reality as his vision, though it seems to be the work of a dream, a reverie—"and do we not live in dreams." Meister Eckhart is highly jubilant over the superiority of the inspired mood: "The meanest thing that one knows in God—for instance if one could understand a flower as it has its Being in God—this would be a higher thing than the whole world." It is a state of exalted emotion, a state of sublime reverie which assumes a visionary character. "Thought becomes pictorial, auditory or rhythmic. Concrete images, balanced harmonies, elusive yet recognizable, surge up mysteriously without the intervention of the will; and place themselves before the mind."¹⁰⁶ The vital flame of the vision carries around it the atmosphere of authority and grandeur, an aureole of enchantment a hypnotic trance. And we hear the "profuse strains of unpremeditated art."¹⁰⁷ But the craving for a vision is always disastrous.

105. *Auguries of Innocence*

106. *Underhill P.* 272

107. *Shelly : Sky lark*

It is beyond the control of man and its objectivity controls him.
It is

“The undiscovered country from whose bourn
No traveller returns,”¹⁰⁸

to give us a complete account, for it is never wholly communicable: and the poet takes recourse to suggestion. It is sudden, abrupt and the individual must be always ready to receive it. The vision pounces upon the poet in the middle, and as Browning observes:

“I flung out of the little chapel”¹⁰⁹

is almost a flash that is not the outcome of any endeavour. “It comes, we know not whence.” Abt Vogler speaks of his skill in the art of music in glowing terms of perfection. The keys gave their sounds to a wish of his soul; and it is all “triumphant art.” And he accounts for it:

“But here is the finger of God, a flash of the will that can,
Existent behind all laws, that made them and, lo, they are!
And I know if, save in this, such gift be allowed to man.”

The reality is the builder and maker “of houses not made with hands.” It is only on earth that one finds ‘broken arcs; in the heaven, a perfect round.’

“But God has a few of us whom He whispers in the ear;
The rest may reason and welcome; ’tis we musicians know.”

Then follow the numbers automatically. In the great painters and artists of old, that have bequeathed immortal works as a legacy to the world, “there burns a truer light of God.”

“Their works drop groundward, but themselves, I know,
Reach many a time a heaven that’s shut to me.”¹¹⁰

Everywhere it is the mysterious hand of divinity, made concrete in the form of inspiration that shapes these things. The sanctity and the inevitability of inspiration raises the work of art that was

108. Hamlet

109. Christmas Eve

110. Andrea del Sarto

produced under its spell to superhuman heights. It is this doctrine of inspiration that captivated the whole set of R̥gvedic poets; and their earliest successors guarded these treasures as sacred treasures where the mystery of the universe is revealed.

Great poetry is of two types, as Abercrombie would have it.¹¹¹ One is the poetry of refuge and the other of interpretation. The latter is of fundamental importance in the life of man. The R̥gveda belongs to this type as a new vitality envelopes the human being at each step. The mystic is famous for his apprehension of vital truths in each and every aspect of experience. R̥gvedic poets have presented to us the same thing; but the great interval that yawns between them and us of the present day makes certain verses unintelligible for us. But a comparison with the great mystics of the world will unravel these beauties. The prime achievement of a great poet can be culled out from passages like

" Flower in the crannied wall,
I pluck you out of the crannie;
Hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
Little flower—but if I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all,
I should know what God and man is."

It is the "Infinite Ideality, Immeasurable Reality, Infinite Personality."¹¹² Similarly Vaughan in his beautiful poem on "The morning watch" writes the immortal lines breathing an air of calmness, vigour and supreme life,

" The pious soul by night
Is like a clouded star, whose beams though said
To shed their light
Under some cloud
Yet are above,
And shine, and move
Beyond that misty shroud."

111. Idea of Great Poetry and The Theory of Poetry

112. The human cry

And in his "Rules and Lessons"—

"Each Bush
And Oak doth know I AM.....
Thou canst not miss his praise ; Each tree, herb,
Are shadows of his wisdom, and his power."

Eternity appeared to him "like a great Ring of pure and endless light, all calm, as it was bright." Time like a shadow was beneath it (The World). Everything appeared to Wordsworth as being "apparelled in celestial light," and it was his cardinal principle of faith that "every flower enjoys the air it breathes." ¹¹³
And in nature he has felt

"A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts ; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused
Whose dwelling is the light of Setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man :
A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things." ¹¹⁴

In nature alone when he was left under the spell of inspiration, he experienced

"That blessed mood,
In which the burthen of the mystery,
In which the heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world,
Is lightened." ¹¹⁵

There is an eternally fresh lustre all round. And it is here that he found out :

113. Lines written in early Spring.

114. Tintern Abbey.

115. *Ibid.*

" The language of the sense,
 The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse,
 The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul
 Of all my moral being."¹¹⁶

As Saul in Robert Browning assures us

" 'tis Thou, God, that givest, 'tis I who receive :
 In the first is the last, in Thy will is my power to
 believe."

It is in this mood, under the spell of divinity that the soul of the poet is more active and really vital—

" That serene and blessed mood,
 In which the affections gently lead us on,
 Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
 And even the motion of our human blood
 Almost suspended, we are laid asleep ;
 While with an eye made quiet by the power
 Of harmony, and the deep power of joy
 We see into the life of things."¹¹⁷

It is in these states, sensations and feelings, that there is ' life and food for future years.' And this mood and its results and effects secure it a permanent place in the lives of the nations. Religion takes its roots in the mystic's life and achievements. Self-surrender and obedience that play a prominent part in the illumination of the mystical consciousness, are the chief pawns in the hands of religion and the artist stands to his inspiration in the same relation.

This self-surrender is an extraordinary trait that is so characteristic of the mystics and the saints. They lose their empirical selves. They crave for something higher and get it ultimately where they are secure and at perfect peace. The consciousness of a reality higher than ourselves and the unforgettable experience constitute the essential poetic and religious faith. It is the divine

116. Tintern Abbey.

117. *Ibid.*

afflatus. We cannot narrate it completely, for it escapes definition, escapes our grip of expression. It is at best a suggestion only. So we often come across passages like :

"Iha bravitu Ya u tac ciketat" (1.35 6)

"So anga veda yadi vā na veda" (X.129.7)

"Na tam vidātha Ya imājajāna" (X.82.7)

These are not negations but statements of profound implication. When once the poet rests in his inspired mood, he longs for ever to remain there. His main endeavour all the while is to get into that 'blessed and serene' mood. He talks to us of that mood alone, this is almost a foreign sphere to many an individual who does not care for such moods. So for him expressions uttered from that mood are often vague, misty and mystical.

Inspiration is a divine manifestation and the great poet shares this along with the seer of religion. Their starting point is the same and so is their goal to a very great extent. The process is coloured by each in his own way. The religious consciousness that is demanded of by the seer or the prophet is deposed by the poet; and over its ashes rises the consciousness of beauty, of art; in short it is the mystic consciousness. The basis of knowledge and wisdom according to him is intuitive. Cold intellectualism finds a proper fusion here; and the new born child is feeling. The poet expresses feeling and demands the same from his readers.

Awe and fear draw the poets near only rarely when Varuṇa, the guardian of the ethical order, is invoked. Here it is a question of the lack of self-confidence, fear of the future and repentance so to say. But the Vedic poets were jealous guardians of individuality. They took pride in it and asserted themselves. The Gods are not their superiors before whom they must appear with bended knee. It is a free man's worship on the footing of equality in a way. The deity is charged with certain duties, which he has to perform, for he too was once mortal. It is their priority that places the Gods in a divine atmosphere and the poets beg the sweetness of speech. They want to be inspired

almost with a religious intensity; and it was this atmosphere to a certain extent that was responsible for the *Ṛgveda* being considered as a text book of religion.

Great poetry often is mystic: it is philosophic and religious. Both poetry and religion originate here and find their culmination too here. In the *Ṛgveda* it is a serene atmosphere which is fatally forbidden to linger over the darker aspects of the Universe; their Gods co-operate with them and their material and spiritual wants are fulfilled. With the Gods they form a mighty fraternity and they are certain that the Gods will favour them with inspiration and sweet tongue. It is both a way of feeling and having a happy conception about things immediately. Their happiness is genuine and irreclaimable as they are in the hands of divinity, in the company of Gods. This cosmic emotion manifests itself in the form of enthusiasm and freedom; and in the *Ṛgveda* we have the inspired free man's worship of Beauty.

The Vedic poets firmly held to the conviction that their songs were sent to them by some superhuman powers. ¹¹⁸ The song is made after power and knowledge. ¹¹⁹ Even Varuṇa himself is said to be making the prayer ¹²⁰ and he reveals his thought in the heart. Agni is the inventor of the bright song of praise. ¹²¹ Indra taught the holy songs to the bard who prayed him. ¹²² Another poet requests Agni to disclose his thought for him who sings, while he is praised with fervour. He has to vouchsafe the powerful hymn to the poets. Poetic wisdom springs from Agni and the thoughts and songs of praise come from him. ¹²³ Agni is

118. R.V. 1- 37. 4; 8. 32. 37.

119. 1. 31. 18. Etenāgne brahmanā Vāṛdhhasva
S'akti vā yat te cakṛmā vidā vā

120. 1. 105. 15. Brahma Kṛṇoti Varuṇo
Gātuvidam tam imah
Vyūrṇoti hṛdāmatim navyo jāyatām

121. 2. 9. 4. Īvam s'ukrasya Vacasomanotā

122. 3. 34. 5. Acetayad dhiya imājaritre premam
Varṇam aṇirae chukram āsam.

123. 4. 11. 3. Īved agne Kāvyaṁ tvan manisās tvad
Ukthā jāyante rādhyāni. See also 4. 11. 2.

the first inventor of the song. ¹²⁴ Very many songs have met in Indra and many a noble thought proceeds from him. ¹²⁵ The poet requests Indra to sharpen his thoughts as if it were a blade of iron. The prayer comes out from the seat of order. ¹²⁶ Varuṇa has to sharpen the songs of the poet who strives his best and sharpen his strength and insight. ¹²⁷ Bṛhaspati was pleased for he vouchsafed a voice that approached the Gods. ¹²⁸ There are references to show that there were regular competitions among the bards which seem to have resulted in bringing forth the Brahmodyas and other riddle-songs. The art of poetry was very popular and the craving for originality was intense. Old poems were inherited and edited as new by a member of the ancient poet's family. ¹²⁹ There are moments of inspiration when a new light flashes upon the individual. There is originality, a creation, as he alone has prepared himself to receive it. It is born with him, but "it is only a life of ardour and patience, struggle and persistence, that prepare him for it.....Inspiration is latent in man and with his own labours and experience he must bring it to the forefront. It brings in a transformed mind and a devoted will." ¹³⁰

"The Vedic poets believe in their own art, in their wonderful poetry and in the exaltation of mind which goes with its compositions." ¹³¹ They are cocksure that the Gods are satisfied completely with their compositions. They lick the gods with their hymns as a cow does her calf (10.123.1). This state approaches genuine and lasting religious consciousness in the

124. 6. 5. 1. Ivaṁ hy agne prathamō manotāsyā dhiyo
Abhavo dasma hotā.

125. 6. 34. 1. Samca tve jagmur giraindrapūrvir
Vica tvañ yanti Vibhvo manīṣaḥ

126. 7. 36. 1. Prabrahmaitu sadanād ṛtasya

127. 8. 42. 3. Imām dhiyam s'ikṣamāṇasya deva
Kratum dakṣam varuṇa sams'is'ādhi.

128. 10. 98. 7. Devasrātam Vṛṣṭivanam rarāṇo
Bṛhaspatir vācam asmā ayachat.

129. 1. 89. 3; 96. 2; 3. 39. 2; 8. 6. 11. 45; 8. 96. 6.

130. A. C. Bradley: Inspiration.

131. Maurice Bloomfield; Religion of the Veda, P. 201.

Rgveda. "Belief in the beauty and fitness of those glittering, rhythmical and assonant stanzas; genuine rapture over the excited, throbbing mind, while the glow of the composition is upon the poet." ¹³² A peculiar self-confidence and strong individuality breathe throughout their compositions. This is the serene atmosphere of the healthy-minded. Pessimism has not yet made her historic entrance into the arena of art or life. They could not conceive of any sorrowful, gloomy, melancholic mood. Even when there occurred a death, they dance and smile (10.18.3), as if it is a thing to be amused at. It is this spirit, which William James, calls "the religion of healthy mindedness." The supreme example in the west is Walt Whitman who is totally unable to feel evil. There is a systematic expulsion in all his writings of all contractile elements. He allowed himself to express only the sentiments of the expansive order: and he expressed these in the first person, but vicariously for all men, so that a passionate and mystic ontological emotion suffuses his words and ends by persuading the reader that all things are divinely good. ¹³³ This comment of William James fits in exactly into the interpretation of the Vedic poets, their poetry and their doctrine of art. They considered themselves divine and they felt as if they are composing with divine minds in an equally divine speech or language.

The poet is a *rebha* (singer), *r̥ṣi* (seer), *Kavi* (painter, shaper) and *Vipra* (intellectual) (inspired). He is careful to stress the importance of inspiration in poetry wherever it is found possible. The compositions are called *Viprah*, inspirations, and when he composes he tells us "*vepate Mati*", that he is inspired in his mind. The Gods and their poets have a beautiful fraternity; they co-operate with each other and promote the cause of poetry and inspiration. The poet is confident that the deity himself shall inspire him—

"That lovely glory of Savitar,
The heavenly god, we contemplate;
Our pious thoughts he shall promote."

132. Bloomfield *Religion of the Veda* P. 202.

133. William James: *Varieties of Religious Experience. Lectures IV & V. Religion of the Healthy Minded.*

This is the famous Gāyatrī, sacred to the Āryans. The author of this *ṛik* "rose from nature's god and adored that sublime luminary which is visible only to the eye of reason and not the planet we daily see in its course." 134

Just as grain is winnowed in the winnowing basket he offers the hymn for publication. Friends see and recognise the mark of friendship, for the voice of the hymn is the means of communication between men and gods. It is the wise in spirit that have created language.¹³⁵ Their heart was completely in the hymns when they were composing them. And even gods compose hymns of their own (10. 66. 5). Angi sends aloft the glorious hymn of brilliancy (1. 144. 1); and revered thought go forward from the holy task along the path of sacred law (3. 12. 7). It is given by the Gods (1. 37. 4; 8. 32. 7) and is robed with glowing colours and bright garments (1. 143. 7). The hymns have an inherent glow, the glowings of the poetic spirit that stand as the vital airs of every great work of art. This the Vedic poets knew well and were never tired of repeating, as it is a truth that is apt to be neglected.

They are confident and ecstatic in declaring that they have composed new songs which ought necessarily be the best the world has ever seen or heard. And as Bloomfield observes, "hymnal beautification of prayer can scarcely reach higher than the following :

" Prayer born of yore in heaven,
Eagerly chanted in the holy assembly,
Delightfully dressed out in bright array,
Ours is that father inherited prayer of old " 136

(3. 39. 2)

The prayer itself, as has been stated previously, is divine. The hymn or devotion is often called Goddess—Goddess Devotion

134. Rajendralal Mitra : Introduction to his edition of Gopatha Brāhmaṇa P. 24.

135. R. V. 10. 71. 1. 2.

136. Bloomfield : Religion of the Veda. pp. 205-6.

(*Dhī*). Goddess lovely praise (*Suṣṭuti*), Goddess Holy Thought (*Maniṣā*)

“*Imām dhiyam śatasēyāya devīm*” (3. 18. 3)

“*Kasyemām devīm amṛteṣu preṣṭhām*

hr̥di s'reṣāma suṣṭutim suharyām (4. 43. 1)

“*Prasukraitu devīmanīṣāsmat.....*” (7.34.1)

“*Abhi vo devīm dhiyam dadhidhvas*

pra vo devatrū vācam Kṛṇudhvam” (7. 34. 9)

“*Gṛṇanto devyā dhiyā*” (8. 27. 13)

The poet asks, “On whose heart shall we lay this celestial song.” It is a divine and brilliant hymn and this heavenly song lay close to the deity. They sing the hymn with God like thought and invoke each God for grace. It is this divinity that is truly revelation, a divine afflatus.

The divinity of devotion is highly mystical, along with the divinity of expression. The inspired thought or word is God to the Vedic poet. Bṛhaspati or Brahmanaspati is the lord of prayer. He is the devotional song or prayer conceived in the abstract and elevated to the status of a divinity. His consort is *Vāk*, speech. We also hear that *dhenā*, holy song, is his wife, just as *senā* or weapon is the wife of Indra.¹³⁷ Bṛhaspati is the sacred word, Brahman. “Starting as prayer, charm, sacred formula, religious act, it becomes the symbol of holy thought and holy utterance, the outpouring of the soul in its highest longings. It is the best wish of a spiritually minded and gifted people that becomes for a while personal god and at last the divine essence of the Universe.....From the point of view of heartfelt emotion it is the most exalted divine conception.”¹³⁸

(Concluded)

137. Bloomfield: Religion of the Veda. p. 244.

138. *Ibid.*, pp. 273, 274.

THE SECOND INVASION OF THE PESHWA MĀDHAVA RAO AGAINST MYSORE 1767

BY G. NARAYANA RAO, M.A.

THE Marāṭhas played a very prominent role in the destruction of the power of the usurpers in Mysore, particularly during the time of Haidar. Most of his wars were fought against the Marāṭhas. Wilks, the historian of Mysore, has not given due importance to this aspect of the rule of the usurpers for want of Marāṭhi sources at that time. The subsequent writers too have made very little use of the copious material available in thousands of Marāṭhi letters, probably due to ignorance of the Marāṭhi language. An attempt is made in the following article to throw fresh light from Marāṭhi sources on the second invasion of Mādhava Rao against Haidar. The English, French and Portuguese sources have also been used.

Haidar, not long after his final usurpation, and before he had fully developed his resources, found himself in 1767, opposed by three or four major powers of the south, the Marāṭhas being one such power. Haidar's ambassadors in the courts of the Peshwa Mādhava Rao and the Nizam could carry little weight, for the reason of his usurpation being not yet reconciled to by the foreign powers. Not until the close of the first Anglo-Mysore war did he secure a respectable place in the political sphere in South India. The confused political situation of South India, though to some extent resolved by the end of the Carnātic wars, continued to be unsettled for a long time. A proper understanding of the Mysore-Marāṭha relations and particularly the second invasion of the Peshwa Mādhava Rao against Haidar may be facilitated by a brief review of the then existing political situation in South India.

• THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH INDIA

The long-drawn Carnātic wars and the struggle between the French and the English trading companies had been concluded by

the treaty of Paris, 1763 accepting Salabat Jang the prisoner in the hands of Nizam Ali, as the Subedar of Hyderabad and Mohamed Ali as the Nawab of Arcot. While these affairs had obtained a new status for the European powers particularly the English, the ambition of Mohammed Ali artificially stimulated by the counsels of corrupt English advisers, was fired by the idea of conquering the whole of the Deccan; and the Madras Government who tried to excel the achievements of the Bengal Government were unconsciously playing the role of dupes in his hands for some time. Their first encounter with the native powers after the Carnatic wars, drew them into a struggle with a major power led by a skilful general and an able diplomat like Haidar. Haidar in Mysore, having obtained firm possession of his place as head of the state from 1761, engaged himself in a programme of unbridled territorial conquest on all the four directions; though in 1765 his progress on the north was temporarily thwarted by Peshwa Madhava Rao, he directed his attention to the west by conquering Cannanore, Calicut and others, while at the same time he had designs against Arcot for which purpose he sent Mahfouz Khan and Reza Alli Khan for talks in the court of the Nizam. Nizam Ali, though he was now free from fear at home, was feeling friendless abroad, with the unreliable Marāṭhas on the west (who had exposed him to grave danger twice once in 1761 when Ramchandra Jadhv deserted him during his march to Poona; and a second time in 1763 when Raghuji Bhonsle deserted the Nizam and joined Raghunatha Rao who defeated the Nizam on the river Godavari), and the English on the east who were trying to seize from him the Northern Sarkars and finally Haidar in the south who with his connection with Basalat Jang in Adoni could be little trusted. The Marāṭhas under Madhava Rao distrustful both of the Nizam (who was a jealous and dangerous neighbour), and the English who had evil designs of obtaining from them the islands of Saṣti-Bet, were more intent upon securing their yearly contributions from their dependencies in the Karnāṭaka, as well as of reoccupying the lands (Swaraj) once conquered by Balaji Rao Peshwa and now in the possession of Haidar, than of responding to the approaches either of the Nizam or of the English.

THE UNNATURAL ALLIANCES

With the four major powers of the south thus disposed in 1765, the occupation of the Northern Circars by the English brought matters to a head; and in October that year the Nizam and the Marāṭhas made a treaty with very different motives. The English who found the Nizam ill-disposed were compelled to make approaches to Haidar. But with their close connection with Mohammad Ali, whose supplantation Haidar had avowed, there was little chance of Haidar responding to the English approaches. He refused to receive their envoy. Thereafter on the recommendation of Lord Clive, the English made a treaty with the Nizam on the 12th of November 1766 in which they obtained his sanction for possessing Rajamahendri, Ellore, Chicacole and Guntur; and they promised to send an English detachment with him against Haidar. Mādhava Rao who had entered into an alliance with the Nizam in the previous year, now definitely looked upon with suspicion, this new Anglo-Nizam alliance which would mean a further division of spoils in case of an attack against Haidar, at the same time having the possibility of being used against himself to check the Marāṭha power after the fall of Haidar, who hitherto was at least able to check Mohammed Ali and the English on the East and the Nizam on the North.

However, from the point of view of Haidar, he was now opposed by a confederacy of three major powers, very strong if the resources of the powers were considered, but very weak if it was understood that this loose confederacy was only the result of diverse motives and mutual jealousies on the part of its members. From the very beginning there was something unnatural in this confederacy of the three powers namely the Marāṭhas, the Nizam and the English, who, not to speak of their having any common objectives, had enough subjects for quarrel among themselves. For the time being however, very strangely, the magnitude of their differences made them follow a common policy against Mysore. When the three powers were at war with each other, they were all interested in keeping Mysore a neutral power; while when they were in peace with each other they were interested in making common cause

against Haidar, lest anyone of them should make an exclusive conquest of territory in Mysore. The key to the successful foiling of such a confederacy lay in understanding this secret of the unnatural alliance. Haidar, the able diplomat, who understood this secret succeeded not only in dividing them but also in dealing effectively with each one of them. But when the confederacy was revived during Tippu's time, he failed miserably against it and ultimately brought about his own ruin.

IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE MYSORE-MARATHA WAR, 1767

The frequent invasions of the Marāṭhas against Mysore are partly the result of the policy explained above and partly the result of certain special features of Mysore-Marāṭha relations. •

In October 1765 a treaty was entered into between the Peshwa Mādhava Rao and the Nizam for mutual aid against foreign powers and joint plans regarding the Karnāṭaka. The Nizam's motive was to use the alliance in case of a possible war against the English who were trying to seize the Northern Circars from him. The invasion of Mysore and Arcot were also among his plans. The immediate and secret objective of the Peshwa was however to prevent the Nizam from joining Bhonsle of Nagpur and Raghoba, in case of the latter's intransigence.¹ The invasion of the Karnāṭaka was a secondary consideration in making this treaty because, the Peshwa was confident of invading the Karnāṭaka and subduing Haidar, without outside help. After making the treaty with the Nizam, the Bhonsle was easily brought to terms. Then the Peshwa turned towards the Karnāṭaka and Haidar.

The Peshwa had genuine grounds of hostility against Haidar :

1. Considering the lenient terms offered by Raghunatha Rao to Haidar in March 1765, at the end of the first invasion, a secret understanding between Haidar and Raghunatha Rao did not go unsuspected. Later in April 1766, the Peshwa obtained definite

1. Khare: *Aithasika Lekha Sangraha*. (Referred to as A.L.S. hereafter). Introduction, P. 1012.

SECOND INVASION OF PESHWA MĀDHAVA RAO 175

evidence to show that Haidar kept secret correspondence with Babujinaik, a close relation and now a rebellious Jagirdar under the Peshwa.² Further Haidar seems to have secretly negotiated with the Bhonsle of Nagpur who was also disaffected towards the Peshwa.³

2. One of the clauses in the treaty of March 1765 stated that Pallegars dependent upon the Marāṭhas were not to be interfered with by Haidar. But Haidar levied contributions in 1766 on the rulers of Harapanhully, Bellary, Chitradurga and others.⁴

3. Haidar had not paid the contribution due to the Marāṭhas for 1765-66.⁵

NEGOTIATIONS AT POONA.

In September 1766 the Peshwa informed the Nizam of his intention to undertake an early expedition against Haidar. Haidar was not unaware of the treaty between the Peshwa and the Nizam in October 1765 and of their plan to invade his territory this year. He also knew that the English were attempting an alliance with Nizam, for a joint invasion of Mysore and that a treaty was actually signed on the 12th of November 1766 between the two. He therefore sent Mahfouzkhān (the elder brother of Mohammed Ali of Arcot) to negotiate with the Nizam, and Naroram and Appajiram to the court of the Peshwa at Poona in October 1766.⁶ Of the two envoys sent to the court of the Marāṭhas, one of them,

2. *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar* (referred to as S. P. D. hereafter). Vol. 37. Letter No. 99.

3. Wilks Vol. I. P. 536; "*Memoirs of Haidar and Tippoo*."—Punganuri, P. 14; M. M. D. L. T. Page 81.

4. A. L. S. Letters Nos. 595, 597, 611 and 612; also S. P. D., Vol. 37. Letter No. 109.

5. *Ibid.* No. 638.

6. The account given in "*The History of Hyder Ali Khan*" by M. M. D. L. T. stated that Mir Reza the brother-in-law of Haidar was in complete charge of purchasing a truce from the Marāṭhas, (91), and that Haidar trusted until the Marāṭhas actually commenced their march, that Mir Reza would succeed in the negotiations with the Marāṭhas, (p. 116). But it is clear from the Marāṭha correspondence that Haidar was personally issuing instructions to his vakils at Poona. (A. L. S. No. 618.)

Naroram seems to have been won over to the side of the Marāṭhas.⁷ But these envoys were not able to satisfy the demands of the Peshwa. The Peshwa's conditions for a treaty were :

1. The territories taken by Haidar from Murar Rao to be restored.
2. Haidar should not interfere with the chiefs of Chitradurga, Raidurg and others dependent upon the Marāṭhas.
3. Haidar was to give up his claims for the Subedary of Sira.
4. Haidar was to pay a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs.

To which the envoy of Haidar replied ;

1. That parts of Murar Rao's territories were occupied because he was giving constant trouble.
2. That Haidar was the true heir for the Subah of Sira and that he could not give up the claim.
3. That parts surrounding Sira were formerly subordinate to the Subah and therefore Haidar had a right to collect tributes from them.
4. That if the Peshwa accepted the above situation, Haidar would be prepared to pay at the most 12 lakhs.

Since there was so much of difference between the terms of the two parties, the negotiations failed.⁸ The Peshwa believed that Haidar was not sincere in his negotiations and that the contribution could not be collected without the use of force, and without demanding a far larger sum than was actually due.

THE PESHWA COMMENCES THE MARCH

The Peshwa joined the camp for the Karnātaka expedition on the 26th of October 1766. He first visited the sacred places, and marching through Pātas, Satāra, Mhāsvād, Nāzare, Sangoli, Utgi and Umdi, he arrived at Surāpur towards the end of December 1766.⁹ A contribution of one lakh and 5,000 was collected from

7. A. L. S. No. 616 ; also page 1092.

8. *Ibid.* Page 1053 ; also Letters Nos. 616, 618, 637.

9. *Ibid.* No. 644

the chief of Surāpur.¹⁰ Haidar had by this time sent his vakil Karimkhan for negotiations with the Peshwa through Gopala Rao Patwardhan. But since he was not prepared to concede much, the negotiations were prolonged for a considerable time; while, in the meanwhile the Peshwa crossed the river Krishna in the month of January and engaged himself in levying contributions from the several chiefs and Jagirdars before proceeding towards the Mysore frontier. The Marāṭha army collected tributes from Kittur, Raichur and Mudgal and many other places between the river Krishna and the Tungabhadra besides taking possession of places like Bhosaki, Lingasugur, Arakul, Yelbargi and others during the month of January.¹¹ Early in February the army crossed the river Tungabhadra. Tributes from places to the north and south of the river, like Kenchangudde, Gadwal, Bellary, Sidanur, Adoni, Karnul, Kanakagiri and Raidurg were collected.¹² The places which refused to pay tribute were usually being plundered and destroyed by fire. The Marāṭha army made a halt at Raidurg which was the northern frontier of Haidar's territory.

HAIDAR'S WHEREABOUTS

While the Marāṭha army was steadily advancing Haidar did not remain inactive. He made vast and thorough preparations to meet the invaders. Wilks' account suggests that when the Marāṭhas were advancing, Haidar was still at Coimbatore making arrangements for the consolidation of his western conquests in Malabar and that he arrived at Seringapatam only by the commencement of the year 1767, by which time the Marāṭhas had already marched very near the Mysore frontier.¹³ The account given in "*The History of Hyder Ali Khan*" by M.M.D. L.T. also states as follows: "In order to secure himself from any interruption in the war he had projected (i.e. the war in the Malabar) Haidar wrote to Mirza Ali khan (Mir Reza), governor of Scirra, and his brother-in-law, to renew his truce with the Marāṭhas

10. A. L. S. Page 1050; also S. P. D. Vol. 37. Letter No. 108.

11. *Ibid.* Pages 1049-1051.

12. S. P. D. Vol. No. 37. Letter No. 133,

13. *Wilks.* Pages 536-7,

which was on the point of expiring : a business not difficult to be performed, by means of a sum of money properly distributed among the chiefs." (p. 91.) Further that "As he was abused by Mirza, his brother-in-law, who everyday gave him reason to think the truce with Marattas would be soon renewed, he went forward with cheerfulness and in spirits ; and arrived at Seringapatam with the conviction that he could easily parry every attempt of his enemies. But his astonishment was extreme, when Mughdoom Ali Khan informed him that there was reason to suspect the fidelity of Mirza Ali Khan ; since he had learned that the army of the Marattas to the number of 1,50,000 men, was on its march from Pona, with Madurao, Nana of the Marattas, at their head, who was then beginning his first campaign ; his march being directed towards Scirra, as Mirza could not but know, since he had envoys at Madurao's court." (p. 116-117.) It seems that Mir Reza who had completely dissipated the revenues of the government in amusements, fearing punishment from Haidar, was persuaded by his secretary to make a treaty with the Marathas to defend him against Haidar Ali and to confirm him in the possession of the territory over which he was ruling. It is further stated in the same work that "The very day following that on which Mughdoom had apprised of the infidelity of Mirza, Hyder received news of the arrival of the Marattas into the country of Scirra.....An event so totally unexpected overthrew all the projects Hyder had formed, and reduced him to the most difficult plan of defence." Apart from these two writers, Ramchandra Rao Punganuri in his "*Memoirs of Hyder and Tippoo*" (p. 14) mentions that Haidar arrived at Seringapatam from Coimbatore in the month of 'Māgha' of the year Vyaya (i. e. February 1767), and further on page 15, that "Mir Ali Raza Khan had taken up his lodging at Sireh with 4,000 horse and 6,000 foot. And the Peshwa Madhava Rao made a sudden march to Sireh bringing 70 or 80,000 horse with him : he arrived in the month of Māgha in the year Vyaya." (i. e. again February 1767).^{*} The account given by Robson¹⁴ is as follows : "Hyder

* Vyaya can only be 1767 and not 1766 as mentioned on page 14 of "*Memoirs of Hyder and Tippoo*" by Ramachandra Rao Punganuri. Perhaps 1766 is a mistake of the translator. (1947. February, is Māgha of Vyaya and Vyaya 180 years ago could only be 1947 minus 180=1767.)

14. Robson : "*The Life of Hyder Ally*" p. 38.

on giving up the command of this army, returned with all possible speed, accompanied by his household troops to Seringapatam, having received private advices that Mahaderow, a mahratta chief, was in motion and preparing to recover the territories which his predecessor Goupalrauz had ceded to Hyder in the year 1760."

Thus the above four accounts suggest that Haidar was engaged in the campaigns in the west, during the whole of 1766 and that the Marāṭha invasion was so sudden and secret that Haidar arrived at his capital only too late to find that the enemy had already entered his territory.

However, the evidence available in the contemporary Marāṭhi letters completely disproves the above account and clearly shows that Haidar must have returned from his western campaigns in the month of September 1766 at the latest, and that besides being closely in touch with the progress of the Marāṭha army, he was making elaborate and prompt arrangements to meet the enemy. A letter ¹⁵ written on the 11th of August 1766, states that Mir Faizulia Khan with his army had arrived at Uttaradurga and that the chief of Harpanhully was negotiating with him. Moro Ballal's letter ¹⁶ of 13th September 1766, to Gopala Rao Patwardhan conveys the information that Haidar, after completing the affairs at Karnātaka had gone to Gutti. Goppala Rao's letter ¹⁷ of October 1766, written to Moro Ballal mentions that Haidar was attacking Bellary. Another letter ¹⁸ of Gopala Rao of October 1766 to Senappa Naik states that, Haidar on hearing that the Marāṭhas had started from Miraj, and that the Peshwa was also to start soon, patched up a peace with the ruler of Bellary and withdrew. Mir Faizulla, Haidar's general seems to have been at Raidurg at that time. ¹⁹

From the above letters it can be seen that Haidar, expecting a Marāṭha invasion was trying to obtain as much wealth as possible

15. A. L. S. No. 595.

16. *Ibid.* No. 597.

17. *Ibid.* No. 611.

18. *Ibid.* No. 612.

19. *Ibid.* 613.

by way of contribution from the chiefs on the northern frontier of his territory, during September and October 1766, besides trying to strengthen the frontier.²⁰ At the same time he had sent an envoy by name Naroram and subsequently Appajiram also for negotiations at Poona, and the fact that the two envoys were frequently receiving letters from Haidar shows that Haidar was in close touch with the negotiations at Poona. The envoys however do not seem to have impressed the Marāṭhas about their or Haidar's sincerity in the negotiations.²¹ The trend of their discussions shows that they were probably instructed to stay in the Marāṭha camp and observe the real intentions of the Marāṭhas:—whether they meant to invade only the northern Kārnāṭaka for the purpose of contributions or whether they were serious about invading Mysore territory and what amount would satisfy them. This explains their continued negotiations without consenting to the Marāṭha demands until the latter actually invaded the territory of Haidar. In the meanwhile Haidar's troops were engaged in invading the territories of Harapanhully and Chitradurga. Harapanhully was invaded in November;²² the territory surrounding it was completely ravaged and the town itself was attacked; when, the ruler agreed to pay 35,000 *Hons* and durbar expenses. Chitradurga was invaded at the end of December 1766 by Mir Faizulla, Haidar's general, and the amount that the ruler there had kept ready for paying to the Marāṭhas was now paid to Mir Faizulla.²³

It appears that Haidar had retired from the north in the month of November or December leaving his general Mir Faizulla there. It is probable that he might have gone to the capital to deal with the puppet Rāja Nanjarāja Wadeyar (who after the death of Chikka Krishnarāja Wadeyar in April 1766 was now king), who was showing signs of intransigence. The districts, the annual revenues of which amounted to three lakhs of Pagodas which were allotted for

20. *S. P. D.* Vol. 37, Letter No. 109.

21. *A. L. S.* Nos. 616, 618, 630 and 638.

22. *Ibid.* No. 640.

23. *Ibid.* Letter No. 643.

the personal maintenance of the Rāja were now resumed and the palace was thoroughly plundered.²⁴ Since Haidar was engaged in his campaigns in the west until the end of August²⁵ or beginning of September, and thereafter in the north, during September and October and probably during November also, he must have dealt with the Rāja only late in November or early December. Any way this affair took place after Haidar's return from Coimbatore and before his peace with the Marāṭhas. None of the contemporary records refer to Haidar's whereabouts during the months between December 1766 and February 1767. It is possible that after leaving Mir Faizulla in the north, and Mir Reza in Sira, he had gone once again to Coimbatore, to finalise the arrangements for the administration of the recently conquered territories in Malabar, the completion of which had been interrupted by the disturbing news of a possible powerful alliance between the English, the Nizam and the Marāṭhas, negotiations for which were going on after the failure of the talks of the English with Haidar. This would explain Haidar's hasty march to the capital in February 1767 when he heard that Mir Reza was about to be won over by the Marāṭhas; accounts of which are given in M.M.D.L.T. Robson (*Life of Hyder Ally*), and Ramachandra Rao Pungaunri (*Memoirs of Hyder and Tippoo*).

THE MARATHAS CROSS THE TUNGABHADRA

The Marāṭha army after crossing the river Tungabhadra early in February, marched steadily through Raidurg towards Sira, where Mir Reza with a powerful army had been stationed. Karimkhan, the envoy of Haidar, who was still negotiating, was now prepared to agree to the giving up of the Marāṭha territories which were taken by Haidar, as well as Murarao's territories; but no agreement was reached regarding the amount of contribution to be paid. The Peshwa was asking for 70 lakhs, but Haidar's envoy offered to pay only 21 lakhs. The envoy took leave of the Peshwa and departed in February, promising to return within 15 days.²⁶

24. Wilks. Vol. 1. P. 537.

25. Peixoto Manuscript M.A. R. 1937. P. 104.

26. A.L.S. Nos. 679, 680 and 682; also S.P.D. Vol. No. 37. Letter No. 133.

The Peshwa resolved that if the negotiations were renewed after the taking of Sira, then Sira would have to be claimed for the Marāṭhas apart from demanding more sums by way of contribution.

FALL OF SIRA.

When the Marāṭha army invaded the Mysore territory in the month of February, Haidar tried his best to impede the progress of the enemy. "He issued the most peremptory orders to all his officers, civil and military, to break down the embankments of the reservoirs of water, on the approach of the Marāṭha army; to poison the wells with milk-hedge; to burn all the forage, even to the thatch of the houses; to bury the grain; to drive off the wulsa, and the cattle to the woods; and to leave to the Marāṭhas neither forage, water nor food".²⁷ But this plan of defence, though it caused some distress to the Marāṭhas, did not stop their advance. They knew the devices by which the above difficulties could be met successfully and their army marched along the dry and sandy bed of the Hagari. (Hayagriva) river; and the Peshwa reached Sira on the 12th of February 1767. A Marāṭhi news letter²⁸ of 10th February 1767 gives evidence of Haidar having visited Sira on that day, that is, two days before the arrival of the Peshwa's army, and having made arrangements for the defence of that place. He is said to have placed 75 guns and 5,000 men for the defence of Sira. Mir Reza had in his charge 8,000 regular infantry, 2,000 militia and 2,000 cavalry, besides the guns. The account given by M.M. D.L.T. that Mir Reza had previously conspired with the Marāṭhas does not receive confirmation in the Marāṭhi letters. The Marāṭhas, commenced the cannonade of Sira, the very day they reached the place. Mir Reza actually came outside the fort beyond the moat to fight the Marāṭhas. But the Marāṭha horse made an attack and forced him to withdraw into the town, losing 500 horses and 5 guns. The Marāṭhas had to delay the assault of the fort for lack of ammunition, which they were able to obtain from Bellary, Raidurg

27. *Wilks*. Vol. I. Page 550.

28. *S.P.D.* Vol. 37, Letter No. 133,

and Poona. The regular siege of the place commenced on the 15th of February. In the meanwhile Gopala Rao Patawardhan came and joined the main camp and on the 19th of February Murarrao Ghorpade also joined the camp. Mir Reza seems to have made a stubborn stand for some time and finally surrendered somewhere between the 21st and the 24th of February. There is no light from Marāṭhi sources on the cause of Mir Reza's surrender of such a strong fort as Sira. There must be some truth in the account given by M.M.D.L.T. that Mir Reza had fallen out with Haider. However, there is no doubt that he surrendered the fort only after fighting for some days. He surrendered on the following conditions:

1. That he should be given the Jagir of Gurramkonda, in return for which he was to maintain 2,000 cavalry for the service of the Peshwa; and

2. That he should surrender to the Peshwa all the places that were under his control.

Mir Reza thereafter joined the camp of the Marāṭhas and the Peshwa appointed Mukund Shuipat to be in charge of Sira.

Haidar's PREPARATIONS

The fall of Sira, so unexpected and sudden, was a serious blow to Haider's plan of defence. With the fall of Sira the way was now open for the enemies to march towards the capital. Haider therefore made most urgent preparations to strengthen the fort of his capital and he placed 300 pieces of cannon for its defence. Since the cavalry was of no use at the capital, it was divided into two parties one of which was sent under Mughdoom Ali, his general, towards Bangalore. The other detachment was sent under Mir Faizulla to Bednur with instructions to: (1) prevent the Marāṭhas from penetrating into Canara which had been recently conquered; and (2) to harass the rear of their army if they should advance towards Seringapatam.²⁹

FALL OF MADDAGIRI, DODBALLAPUR AND OTHER PLACES

After taking possession of Sira, the Peshwa once again divided the army and sent Gopala Rao Patwardhan towards Doddaballapur, while he himself marched towards Maddagiri. This strong hill-fort which had been greatly strengthened by Haidar, was very steep on three sides, from where it was impossible for the enemy to ascend. Only on the eastern side of it there was an irregular, narrow and slippery path which would be made further difficult by pouring oil on the path in times of danger from the enemy. However, against the Marāṭhas, the fort did not prove so very impregnable. The Peshwa attacked the fort the very next day after he reached the place; and a day after it, on 5th of March it surrendered.³⁰ A large amount of plunder fell into the hands of the Marāṭhas. The queen and the pretender to the throne of Bednore who had been imprisoned there by Haidar were liberated.

The Peshwa then marched from Maddagiri to Chennarayadurga, leaving behind Murarrao and Mir Reza to march later. He reached Chennarayadurga on the 8th of March. On reaching this place news was received that Murarrao's troops along with some followers in Mir Reza's camp had attacked and thoroughly plundered the latter's camp. The Peshwa suspected that Murarrao who bore ill-will towards Mir Reza was responsible for this act and he thought of seriously punishing Murarrao. But he was dissuaded from that act by Sakharambapu. However, the persons who actually took part in the plunder were severely punished and the articles which were plundered were all returned to Mir Reza; and the latter was assured that such things would not be allowed to repeat in future.³¹

While the siege of Chennarayadurga was proceeding, a part of the army was engaged in recapturing the territory which Haidar had taken from Murarrao. Places like Maruthgad, Sivagiri, Umā-Mahesvardurga, Kodikode, and Pilkode were all captured.³² At

30. S. P. D. Vol. 37 letter Nos. 146, 147 and 148; also A. L. S. No. 691.

31. A. L. S. letter Nos. 692 and 694.

32. *Ibid.* No. 693.

the same time Gopala Rao was besieging Doddballapur. This fort was well protected by a moat which was about 10 to 15 feet deep and about 2,000 men were inside the fort. A native of that place by name Venkatanarayana Appa now visited the main camp of the Marāthas professing to help them in secretly winning over the Killedars not only of Doddballapur but also of other forts round about.³³ This person was directed to go to Gopala Rao who seems to have really made use of him in getting possession of really strong forts in comparatively short time, particularly in view of the fact that strong detachments of Haidar's army had been placed so near as Bangalore and Chickballapur. The Peshwa also was very much in favour of capturing them through secret means rather than by direct attacks. However Gopala Rao is said to have cannonaded the fort of Doddballapur and then taken it by assault on the 18th of March³⁴ (and not after 30th March as stated in some works). But it is very probable that its capture was facilitated by the defection of the Killedars.

Gopala Rao next marched for the attack of Chickballapur and other places round about. But before commencing the siege of Chickballapur he was called to help the Peshwa in his attack against Chennarayadurga which was strongly resisting the siege. Therefore he left about 500 horse at Chickballapur and joined the Peshwa's army.³⁵

NEGOTIATIONS

In the meanwhile Haidar's envoys Karimkhan and Appajiram had renewed the negotiations with Gopala Rao Patwardhan. The Peshwa instructed him to demand.³⁶

1. The restoration of Murarrao's territory taken by Haidar.
2. No interference with the states dependent upon the Marāthas ;

33. A. L. S. Nos, 697, 699, 700.

34. S. P. D. Vol. 37. No. 150.

35. A. L. S. No. 707.

36. *Ibid.* No. 688.

3. The cession of Basavapatna to the Marāṭhas; and
4. Payment of 40 lakhs as contribution.

But the envoys stated that Haidar was (1) prepared to pay 28 lakhs contribution and (2) to join service under Mādhava Rao in case the latter agreed to wage war against the English and Mohammed Ali of Arcot. Gopala Rao strongly pleaded that the terms might be accepted in view of the difficulty of maintaining garrisons in many places.³⁷ But the Peshwa was too shrewd to commit himself to these terms and refused to make any treaty which did not provide for the cession of territory to the Marāṭhas. He asked for the cession of all the territory now taken by the Marāṭhas and the Marāṭha territory still under Haidar's control; and he informed that in case Haidar did not make peace before the arrival of Nizam Ali the amount of contribution would be enhanced.³⁸ The negotiations therefore broke down.

FALL OF CHENNARAYADURGA, CHICKBALLAPUR AND OTHER PLACES.

The fort of Chennarayadurga withstood the siege for a considerable time. The Marāṭha guns pounded the walls of the fort for a number of days. The fort was surrounded and regularly besieged. Gopala Rao was asked to join in the attack against this fort. Finally a determined assault was made and the fort was taken on the 23rd of March 1767.³⁹

Chickballapur was next besieged on the 30th of March and it fell early in April. The other places like Devanhalli, Nandidurga, Hoskote and Kolar were also taken in the first half of April and they were garrisoned.⁴⁰

The objects with which the Peshwa had undertaken the expedition, namely, the recovery (1) of the "*Swaraj*" i.e. the

37. A. L. S. No. 701.

38. *Ibid.* No. 706.

39. *Ibid.* No. 708.

40. S. P. D. 37. Letter No. 155.

territory which was once conquered by the Peshwa Balaji Rao, and (2) The territory of Murairao which had been occupied by Haidar, had now been fulfilled. The Peshwa was now anxious to return in case Haidar agreed to pay the contribution.

THE NIZAM'S PROGRESS.

The Nizam, starting from Hyderabad, marched through Raichur and Bellary, and arrived at Raidrug by the second half of March accompanied by an English detachment. The Marāṭhas, however, were hastening to finish their work before the coming of the Nizam and the English, lest they should demand a share in the conquests. They therefore informed the Nizam to keep himself at a distance of 20 *cos* from the Marāṭha camp.⁴¹ Haidar in the meanwhile, was trying his best to sow dissensions among the allies. His envoys were busy negotiating in the camps of the Nizam and the Marāṭhas. Haidar even offered to join service under the Peshwa, provided he was prepared to march against the English and Mohammed Ali.⁴² The Peshwa, however, marched towards Bangalore and announced that after the coming of the Nizam's army they would march together towards Seringapatam; and thus he made Haidar believe that the three allies had really resolved to unite against Haidar.⁴³ During the month of April, the Nizam's army finally effected a junction with Marāṭha army and the two seem to have marched together for some time. On arriving at Chennapatna, however, the Marāṭha army under the pretext of being nearer to the forages, separated from the Nizam's army and encamped on the Caveri at 5 leagues from Seringapatam.⁴⁴ Haidar had now come to believe that a joint attack on the capital by the two armies was almost a certainty. Therefore, two days after the change of the Marāṭha camp, Haidar finally agreed to all the terms of the Marāṭhas. This treaty must have been conducted by the end of April; for, a news letter of 3rd May

41. A. L. S. No. 702.

42. *Ibid.* No. 701.

43. *Ibid.* Introduction. Page 1063.

44. M, M, D. L. T. Page 130.

gives the details of the treaty.⁴⁵ Wilks states that though the Marāṭhas finally retired in May, the treaty was made late in the month of March.⁴⁶ This however is incorrect.

THE TREATY

The terms of the treaty ⁴⁷ were:

1. The Marāṭhas were to retain Sira, Maddagiri, Chennarayadurga, Dodballapur, Hoskote and others which were conquered during the time of Balaji Rao.

2. The rest of the territory which was recently conquered including Devanhally and Kundana in the district of Devanhally; Chickballapur, Nandidurga, Ganeshgad and Sidalgatta in Chickballapur district, and the other places in the district of Kolar were all to be restored to Haidar ⁴⁸. Haidar was also to retain Basavapatna.

3. Mir Reza was to be confirmed in the possession of Gurramkonda.

4. Haidar was not to interfere with Murarrao and other chiefs on the northern border, who were dependent upon the Marāṭhas.

5. Haidar was to pay a sum of 31 Lakhs; half to be paid immediately and the other half in two instalments; until which time Kolar was to be in the hands of the Marāṭhas. (Regarding the contribution, different sums are mentioned. Wilks mentions 35 lakhs; Gopala Rao in his letter ⁴⁹ of 18th May, mentions 31 lakhs for the Marāṭhas and 14 lakhs for the Nizam—altogether 45 lakhs. The letters in Peshwa Daftar, Nos. 158 and 159 also mention 31 lakhs. The Peshwa in his letter ⁵⁰ to Ramashastry says it was 33 lakhs.)

45. S. P. D. Vol. 37. Letter No. 158.

46. Wilks. Vol. I. Page 565.

47. S. P. D. Vol. 37. Letter Nos. 158 and 159: also A. L. S. Page 1063 and Letter Nos. 718 and 721.

48. *Selections from Satara Raja's and Peshwa's Diaries* by G. C. Vad and K. N. Sane. Page 228.

49. A L.S. No. 721.

50. *Ibid.* No, 718.

6. The sum due by Haidar to the Nizam was to be paid, after which the Nizam was to return. If the Marāṭhas should mediate between the Nizam and Haidar, Haidar was to pay them a further sum of 14 lakhs of Rupees.

The Nizam and the English sent representatives to the Marāṭha camp to claim a share in the spoils. Colonel Tod was sent for this purpose and was accompanied by a confidential person on the part of Nizam Ali. The application of the latter for a share of the spoils was treated with broad ridicule and Colonel Tod, on his return, reported "that when he declared to Madoo Row, that he was come to talk on business, they (the Marāṭha durbar) could not keep their countenance, but burst out a laughing on his face." 51

The Peshwa commenced his return journey towards Poona early in May 1767.

51. Wilks. Vol. I. pp. 558-9.

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SAWAL-E-JAWAB

[An account of the Holy Shrine of S'ri Venkatēs'vara.
Tirumalai-Tirupati (Chittoor District)]

BY V. N. SRINIVASA RAO

PREFACE

THE celebrated shrine of Śrī Venkates'vara of Vengadam—Tirumalai-Tirupati, in Chittoor District, is one of great antiquity and unequalled sanctity. Inscriptions on the temple walls disclose that the Yādava Kings, and their Cōḷa and Vijayanagara overlords, vied with each other in munificent gifts to the shrine contributing to the splendour of its festivals and providing amenities for the pilgrims visiting the shrine from all parts of India. After the final dissolution of the Vijayanagara Empire, the country round the shrine was acquired by the Sultans of Golconda who endeared themselves to their Hindu subjects by their tolerance and liberal gifts to Hindu temples. Aurangazeb broke up these Kingdoms and on the ruins of the Sultans arose the Nizams of Hyderabad and the Nawabs of Carnātic and this temple came under the protection of the latter. These Nawabs allowed the institution to go on as usual contenting themselves with the surplus income from the temple which they farmed out to Hindu renters. They were receiving an annual income of about two lakhs of rupees. Muhammad Ali, the patron and protege of the East India Company assigned the revenues of this temple to the East India Company for restoring his authority in the Carnatic as a sure source of discharging his dues to the Company. (This was between 1744 and 1750 A.D.) The East India Company continued the practice of farming out the revenues and contented itself with protecting the shrine from the attacks of adventurers, who swarmed

in this part of the country during the unsettled conditions prevailing after the break up of the Mughal Empire. This was also the period of weakness which afforded opportunities to the foreign merchants to acquire dominion in India. Muhammad Ali assigned the country round the temple, which was then included in the North Arcot district to the East India Company on 31 July 1801 when the direct management of the temple was taken over by the Company. The first Collector of North Arcot was Mr. Stratton who was then styled the Collector, Western Poliams. He made very careful and exhaustive enquiries not only about the territory entrusted to him but also about the history, tradition and resources of this temple. He asked a series of questions on all aspects of its administration and answers were furnished by those in actual management of the affairs of the temple and the information gathered from these questions and answers is locally known as "Sawal-e-Jawab" account. The arrangements he made for the management of the temple were mostly based on these reports. He constituted the country round Tirupati into a Taluk and the Tahsildar of Tirupati was in direct management of the temple which was expressed by the term "*Amani*" as against the previous practice of farming out the revenues to renters annually. The following account is a translation of a Telugu manuscript containing questions and answers relating to the *Stalapurāṇa* of the temple. There are several other sections relating to the internal administration of the temple, its resources, land, etc. but these are owned by private persons and mutts and guarded secretly and produced in sections before law courts in support of claims for or against the temple. So far, no authorised version of the "Sawal-e-Jawab" account containing the entire material has been made available to the public by the Devasthanam authorities. The Government have been equally reticent about the publication of the wealth of material that should be available with them, not only this, they have been refusing access to these records even to research scholars. The manuscript under translation is in the official style of the early nineteenth century and is undoubtedly genuine. The internal evidence in it shows that it was prepared in Fasli 1213, i.e. 1801-2 A.D. and it should be of considerable

interest as showing the great veneration in which the temple has been held even so lately as about two centuries ago and the respect which the ruling powers have all along shown in preserving its ancient customs and traditions without interference.

Further details about the temple and its administration will be furnished in a separate sketch.

SAWAL-E-JAWAB

Question 1. How many Yugas (ages) have passed since S'rī Venkateśvara took up his abode on these hills?

Answer. S'rī Venkateśvara first manifested Himself before Brahma and other Gods, Ṛṣis and Kings in the twenty-eighth Yuga before the present Kaliyuga. (Chapter 43 Vāmana Purāṇa.)

Question 2. After appearing on Tirumalai what induced Him to continue to stay here till now and give *darsan* to people?

Answer. Knowing that people in Kaliyuga will be of feeble faith and wanting in capacity to engage themselves in severe austerities, Brahma entreated the Lord to continue his stay here and give them the *darsan* which is sufficient to redeem them. To show His great mercy to mankind the Lord has been staying here to save and bless. (Chapter 2 of Brahṇāṇḍapurāṇa and chapter 1 of Brahmavaivartapurāṇa.)

Question 3. Which is the mountain going by the name of Tirumalai-Tirupati and S'ēs'ācalam?

Answer. In the middle of the earth, which is (*Panchasat-koti*) five hundred crores of miles in extent, there is a great mountain called the Mahāmēru which is golden in colour. One of the peaks of this King of mountains is known as S'ēs'ācalam, also as the son of Mēru. (Chapter 26 of Vāmana Purāṇa.)

Question 4. When and by whom was S'ēs'ācalam brought here from Mahāmēru?

Answer. Many years ago in S'rī Vaikuṇṭha in the presence of the Lord a dispute arose between Vāyu and the thousand-headed

Ādi S'ēs'a as to who was more powerful. In the contest, Ādi S'ēs'a opened his thousand hoods and grasped tightly one of the peaks of Mount Mēru. In his attempt to blow Ādi S'ēs'a away together with the peak, Vāyu raised a terrible tempest which shook the heavens. Indra and the other Devas prayed to Ādi S'ēśa (Ananta), who is the embodiment of *satvaguṇa*, to concede victory to the rude Vāyu by releasing his hold of one of his hoods on the peak. On his doing so, a portion of the peak was blown away and falling here became S'ēs'ācalam.

Question 5. What is the extent of this range, north to south and east to west ?

Answer. According to Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, this range extends five thousand miles north to south and five hundred miles east to west.

Question 6. Why is this mountain range called S'ēs'ācalam ?

Answer. The Lord intending to reside here sent Ādi S'ēs'a in advance and he was asked to remain here in the form of a mountain range. As Ādi S'ēs'a himself is here in the form of a mountain, the range is called S'ēs'ācalam. (Chapter 3 of Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa.)

Question 7. How did it acquire the name of Venkatacalam ?

Answer. Once a Brahmin guilty of incest with a Candala woman consulted Ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha as to the best mode of getting rid of the sin. On his advice he came here on a pilgrimage. No sooner than he reached the top of the hill, his body burst into flame like a cracker. Soon he was found standing uninjured but with a brighter and more handsome form than before. Only his sins had been consumed away in flames. The Devas and Ṛṣis who witnessed this miracle, named the hill Venkatādri or the extinguisher of sins. This is stated in chapter 1 of the Varāha-purāṇa.

Question 8. What are the various names applied to this range and under what circumstances was each of them acquired ?

Answer. Several names are given to this range in Brahma-purāṇa and in chapter 4 and 5 of Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa. Some

among them are (1) S'ēs'ācalam, (2) Vriṣāḍri, (3) Vriṣabāḍri, (4) Venkatācalam, (5) Nārāyaṇāḍri, (6) Garudāḍri, (7) Anjanāḍri and (8) Svarṇāḍri.

Nārāyaṇāḍri. An old Brahmin, named Nārāyaṇa, who was disgusted with life on account of his abject poverty and old age, deciding to end his life, got up the hill intending to throw himself down from its summit, but as soon as he had reached the top, the Lord appeared before him and blessed him with youth and unlimited wealth. On his prayer that the hill should be known thereafter by his name, the Lord granted the boon. (Chapter 3 of Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa.)

Vriṣabāḍri. When Lord Venkateśvara killed Vriṣabasura. He granted his wish that the hill should be called after his name. Hence it is known as Vriṣabāḍri. (Chapter 4 of Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa.)

Vriṣāḍri. As there are many sacred *thirthams* on this range it is called Vriṣāḍri.

Garudāḍri. As Garuda brought this hill from S'rī Vā'kunṭha for the sport of the Lord it is called Garudāḍri.

Narasimhāḍri. As there is the shrine of Narasimha in the centre of this range it is known as Narasimhāḍri.

Anjanāḍri. As Anjanā Devi begot Ānjanēya, the great general of S'rī Rāma, by performing penance here, it is called Anjanāḍri.

(Note : Explanation for Svarṇāḍri not furnished. This peak is a part of the Golden Mountain—Mount Meru.)

Question 9. What sacred *thirthas* are there on this range and how have they acquired their names?

Answer. It is said in the purāṇas that there are three and a half crores of *thirthas* in various parts of these hills. The chief among them are: (1) Kumāradhāra, (2) Tumburukōṇa, (3) Kataha *thirtha*, (4) Akāṣa Gaṅga, (5) Papavināsām, (6) S'ēs'a *thirtha*, (7) Cakra *thirtha*, (8) Pāṇḍava *thirtha*, (9) Svāmī Puskaraṇi, (10) Gogarbhām, (11) Bharadvāja *thirtha*, (12) Vāikunṭha *thirtha*, (13) Aṣṭi *thirtha*, (14) Sanakādi *thirtha*,

(15) Yuddanirasta Rasāyana *thīrtha*, (16) Brahma *thīrtha*, (17) Visvakṣena *thīrtha*, (18) Indra *thīrtha*, (19) Kapiladhāra *thīrtha*, (20) Vajra *thīrtha*, (21) Ś'ankacakrādi pancha *thīrtha*, (22) Agnēya *thīrtha*, (23) Vāmana *thīrtha* and (24) Brahma-Kṣatriya-Vaiśya-Ś'ūdra *thīrtha*, etc.

• *Kumāradhāra*. God Subramania killed Tārakāsura in the wars between Devas and Asuras. At the suggestion of his father, God Ś'iva, he took bath in Kumāradhāra and he was freed from the sin. Again Nārāyaṇa, who was contemplating suicide on account of infirmity and poverty was advised by the Lord to take a bath in this *thīrtha* and on doing so, he was blessed with youth and wealth. (Chapters 3, 4 and 5 Mārkandēya Purāṇa.)

• *Thumburu Kōṇa*. In some previous Yuga, two Ṛṣis Nārada and Thumburu were travelling all over the world in their celestial cars. Thumburu indulged in the praise of mortals. Suddenly he was dropped down to the earth from the celestial car. He bathed in this *thīrtha* as a result of which his sin was washed away. The celestial car reappeared and took him back to heaven. (Garuda purāṇa and chapter 51 of Brahmōttara purāṇa.)

Kataha thīrtha. This is otherwise called *Thotti thīrtha* which is inside the *prakāra* of the temple. A sip of this water removes all evil influences and secures success in all undertakings. Though all castes are allowed to touch this *thīrtha*, it is not considered polluted. (27 Chapter, Skāndapurāṇa.)

Akūsa Gaṅga. The Lord sent an arrow into the ground and brought the Ganges here. A bath in it removes all sins and secures fulfilment of all desires.

Svāmi Puṣkaraṇi. It is not possible to describe adequately the greatness of this sacred *thīrtha*. It is believed that in *Dhanurmāsa* (Dec.-Jan.) *Suklapakṣa-dvādasi*, early in the morning all the sacred waters of all the sacred places on earth and in heaven including the waters of the rivers, Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvatī, Kaveri, Godavari, Tungabhadra enter Svāmi Puṣkaraṇi and bathe in it in order to purify themselves. The efficacy of a bath in this Puṣkaraṇi at such a time can easily be imagined. (Vāmana Purāṇa, chapter 30.)

Pāpavināsam. All sins drop off at the very sight of this *thīrtha*. A bath in it confers great merit. (Chapter 3, *Brahmānda Purāṇa*.)

Rasāyana Thīrtha.—Old persons, even those who have attained the age of hundred years, when they bathe in this *thīrtha* become young and do not suffer from old age again. They will attain the strength of several elephants.

About four hundred years ago, an old woman, who had come to the hills on a pilgrimage, was returning from a bath in Kumāradhāra; feeling very thirsty on the way she plunged her drinking vessel in this *thīrtha* to get some water. On removing it from the water, she found the vessel was changed into gold. The pilgrims who witnessed the miracle were struck with awe and when they attempted to take a bath in it, the waters went underground. Hence it was named *Rasāyana thīrtha*. (*Rasāyana* = Alchemy.)

Kapiladhāra Thīrtha. This is situated at the foot of the hills to the south of them and to the north of Tirupati Town. Kapila Mahārṣi installed a Śiva Liṅga here and was doing penance calling the God, Kapileśvara, after his own name. To the west of this *thīrtha*, there is the shrine of God Narasimha. In this temple there is a cave. Thondaman used to visit the temple on the hills through a passage from this cave. (*Brahmānda Purāṇa*, chapter 7.)

Question 10. Who are the Ṛṣis that performed *Tapas* (penance) on these hills and where are their *Āśramās* situated?

Answer. Several Yugas ago, King Daśaratha did penance at the foot of the Pipal tree (*Aśvatha*) on the banks of Svāmi Puskaraṇi for obtaining children. Kumarasvāmi did penance at Kumāradhāra Thīrtha. It is said in the *purāṇas* that Ṛṣis like Agastya and others obtained their final *siddhis* only after performing *tapas* on the hills. (*Mārkandēya Purāṇa*, chapter 2; *Vāmana Purāṇa*, chapter 22; *Varāhapurāṇa*, chapter 43). The Pipal tree under which King Daśaratha performed his penance is still found on the banks of Svāmi Puskaraṇi. Kumārasvāmi Āśrama can be seen at Kumāradhāra Thīrtha. Agastyāśrama is located on the top of

Chandragiri hill to the south of S'es'ācalam. The āśramas of Sanaka and Sanandana are within a mile of Papavinasam. The āś'ramas of Sapta Ṛṣis (seven ṛṣis) are situated to the north-east, at a distance of about ten miles from the temple. Besides those mentioned several other āśramas of Ṛṣis are found, scattered here and there on the range.

Question 11. Are there any special characteristics also in the animals, birds, trees and plants found on this sacred range?

Answer. Everything that takes birth on these hills men, animals, plants, insects or anything else attains *Mukti*. It is recorded in the purāṇas that many Devas, Ṛṣis and spiritually advanced men prefer to be reborn in this range as animals and inanimate objects to secure a surer and quicker means of salvation. This is the difference between the objects found existing on these hills and those found in other places of pilgrimage and hence their claim for being treated with veneration. (Mārkandēya Purāṇa, chapter 4, Varahapurāṇa, chapter 6, Vāmana Purāṇa, chapter 12.)

Question 12. What Gods have manifested themselves on this range and at which places?

Answer. This range being in the form of Ādi Śēs'a, Śrī Venkatēśvara manifests himself on the portion representing the hood. At the centre of the body of the serpent, represented by Ahōbilam, God Narasimha manifested himself; at the tail represented by S'risaillam, God Mahōśvara manifested himself. (Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa chapter 2; Padmapurāṇa chapters 28 to 31.) The three Gods confer earthly prosperity and ensure salvation for their votaries by the mere *darśan* of their glorious divine forms.

Question 13. Why are Mlecchas and Candālas forbidden from climbing the hills?

Answer. Many Purāṇas declare that this hill is the personification of Ādi Śēs'a. Many wise men and sages, therefore, considered it profanation to set foot thereon and that the mere sight of the hill will confer the same merit as the actual *darśan* and worship of God himself on the hill and built their āś'rams at the foot of the hills and offered their prayers. This prohibition against

climbing the hill does not apply to all. Those who had work to do in the temple were allowed to go up the hill after making themselves absolutely clean. The bar as to Mlecchas and Candālas goes back to an antiquity (which is said to have come into vogue by the desire of Lord Venkatēs'vara himself). From actual experience it has been found that if Mlecchas either by accident or design attempted to climb the hill, they met with some obstruction or obstacles. This is so well-known that to this day Mlecchas do not attempt to ascend the hill. This belief is universally known and followed implicitly.

Question 14. Why do dwellers on the hill suffer from fevers such as Malaria during *Pālguaṇa*, *Cāitra*, *Vaiśākha* and *Jyēṣṭha* months? (March, April, May and June).

Answer. As the hill is said to be Ādis'ēs'a himself, great sages say that Ādis'ēs'a exhales poisonous air during these four months. But a few observers attribute the unhealthiness during these four months to the blasts blowing over flowers of poisonous creepers and shrubs on the hill, which blossom during this period.

Question 15. What rivers rise from these hills? What special sanctity is attached to each one of them? Are they associated with any great sages and if so what particular spots on the banks are considered specially holy on account of their residence?

Answer. A big river, the Svarṇamukhi, springs from this hill. According to Skānda Purāṇa, seventh chapter, the Ganges is said to have come down here in this shape. The Svarṇamukhi is so called, because, this hill, from which it rises is considered to be the golden peak of Mount Mōru. Five miles from this hill is Agastyās'rama on the bank of the Svarṇamukhi. Agastya worshipped Rudra and installed a Liṅga and called it Agatēs'vara, after his own name. In the middle of the river, a representation of the feet of Rudra is installed. The purāṇas declare that ceremonies performed here, have as much potency as those performed at the "*Viṣṇupādās*" on the banks of the Ganges in Gaya.

About five miles from this hill, on the bank of this sacred river, sage Parās'ara established an ās'rama, installed a Liṅga,

calling it Parās'arēs'vara after his own name and was doing penance. On account of this, several other sages had settled themselves round about the ās'rama for penance; therefore, the appellation of Yogimallāpuram. These details are found not only in Skānda but also in the second chapter of Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa; again, within a couple of leagues from this hill to the south of it, on the banks of the Svarṇamukhi was the hermitage of the great yogi S'ri S'uka, the inspirer of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa. He installed here the images of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa and was doing penance. Since then the place was known as S'ukapuram. By usage it has now acquired the name of Chiratānūr or Tirucānūr (Tiru-S'ukanūr). Even now the same Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa are fulfilling the desires of the devotees and blessing them with their darśan which is obtained easily.

Question 16. What is the name of the sacred lake on the bank of the Svarṇamukhi and who is its presiding deity?

Answer. The lake is known as "*Padmasarōvaram*" and it is situated in the centre of S'ukapuram otherwise known as Tirucānūr, on the banks of the Svarṇamukhi.

Question. Why is the lake called Padmasarōvaram?

*Answer:—*S'ri Venkatēs'vara after his incarnation at Venkatācala performed a great penance in order to obtain Lakṣmi. He dug up a lake here and placed in it a celestial creeper bearing golden lotuses. He also installed Suryanārāyaṇa on the eastern side of the lake so that the lotuses may bloom both day and night without fading. In deference to his penance, Lakṣmi manifested herself before him in a lotus in the centre of the lake. The lake goes by the name Padmasarōvaram since then.

Shrines of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa are to the north of this pond; Padmāvathi (Lakṣmi) was installed to the south-east of this lake. (Further details will be given later under questions and answers relating to Venkatēs'vara Mahatmyam.)

Question 17. It is stated in the Purāṇas that Venkatēs'vara took up his abode in S'ēsācalam several yugas ago. So far, only the greatness of the hill and the sanctity of the river Svarṇamukhi

have been described but little has been said about the God himself. The question is, which aspect among the several manifestations of God, does Lord Venkatēs'vara represent ?

Answer. S'ri Venkatēs'vara is declared to be the supreme God—S'ri Mahā Viṣṇu in the following Purāṇas: Mārkaṇḍēya, Garuḍa, Brahmā, Brahmāṇḍa, Varāha, Bhugōḷa Varāha, Padma, Vāmana, Skāṇḍa, Bhavis'yottara, Mahābhārata and in the Ascarya-parvan of Harivaṁṣa.

Question 18. Which is the real form of S'ri Venkatēs'vara ?

Answer. S'ri Venkatēs'vara is the embodiment of the Absolute Effulgence. Further details about this will be found in the purāṇas mentioned previously.

Question 19. With the changes in time were there any changes in the form of Lord Venkatēs'vara ?

Answer. Actually Venkatēs'vara is in the form of "a mass of Self-Effulgence." To Brahma and others who meditated on him in certain ages the Lord appeared in the form bearing S'aṅkha and Cakra. Moreover, the Lord is always changing. His grācē is such that He appears to His devotees in the form in which they adore Him. He assumes various shapes and forms suited to his mysterious purposes of creation. He manifests Himself in diverse forms and in one form.

Question 20. Where did Venkatēs'vara hail from? Was Lord Venkatēs'vara brought over here from some other place or did he manifest himself here directly or was he installed here with any special object ?

Answer. Lord Venkatēs'vara came down from Vaikunta to sport on the hills and to fulfil the desires of Brahma and other Gods and great sages, like Vas'iṣṭa and to give salvation to mankind. That is why this place is known as a "*Svayamvyakta-stala*" (i.e. a place where God manifested himself directly as distinguished from places having man-made [sculptured] images of Him. These details are found in the purāṇas mentioned *supra*).

Question 21. When did this Lord arrive here and to whom did He appear in His divine form ?

Answer. This Lord came over here in the twenty-eighth Mahāyuga itself and appeared to Brahma and others. In the Kaliyuga, as people's minds are steeped in ignorance He draws them to himself by force and receives various offerings from them by fulfilling their desires. To some he appears in "*Arca-rūpa*" (the present idol form) and to several others in several forms convincing them of His grace and His sportive mood. This is mentioned in the Varāha, Vamana, Bhavis'yottara, Brahma, Brahmanda and Padma purāṇas.

Question 23. What are the various sacred names of this Lord? Who all worshipped the Lord and what objects had been attained by them?

Answer. The most current names of this Lord are Śrī Venkatēśvara and Śrīnivāsa. But His names are innumerable. Gods such as Brahma and sages such as Agastya, did great penance to Him and achieved their hearts' desires. King Das'aratha did penance for about ten thousand years and obtained sons. Anjanādevī worshipped Him and begot Ānjanēya. Many Brāhmins and Kings worshipped Him and attained their objects.

Question 24. After his appearance here what are the various diversions in which He had sported?

Answer. Once upon a time there was a king named Ākāṣarāja who had his capital at Nārāyaṇavanam twenty miles from Tirupati. He was desirous of getting children. One day while ploughing a field he found a lotus in the middle of which was a baby, girl. He was overjoyed and adopted her and named her as Padmāvati. In due course Padmāvathi attained the marriageable age. She was divinely beautiful. Lord Venkatēśvara desired to marry her. He took the form of a handsome young man, gracefully attired, mounted a fine horse and entered the grove where Padmāvati was amusing herself with her maids, on the pretext of chasing an elephant. He contrived to present himself before Padmāvati and by his artfulness made her fall madly in love with Him. Then He started negotiations, for marrying her through Vakula, Śrī S'uka and others. After his marriage, he performed many wonderful deeds. This information is contained in Bhavis'yottara purāṇa, Varāha and other purāṇas. In Nārāyaṇavanam,

in proof of this episode, there still exists a shrine dedicated to Kalyāṇa Venkatēs'vara who exactly resembles the Lord here (on the hills), in the splendour of His divine beauty and grace. During the time of Thondamān Cakravarti, the brother of Ākāṣa-rāja, the Lord had worked many amazing wonders.

Question 24. In olden days who all had built mantapas and prakāras for the shrine and who all had improved or renovated them ?

Answer. In the twenty-eighth Mahāyuga, in the Kaliyuga a King named S'ankha Mahārāja built the Garbha Gṛha, Gopura, mantapams and prakāras. This is stated in 33, 34, 35 and 36th chapters of Vāmana purāṇa and referred to in Skānda and other purāṇas also. Later on Thondamān, built the main shrine, with Vimāna, gopuras, mantapas and prakāras, with the assistance of Brahma and other Gods. In this Kaliyuga the Cōla and the Pāṇḍya Kings have reconstructed the gopuras, mantapas and prakāras. This information is found in Bhavis'yotara and others purāṇas.

Question 25. Who is the person who first instituted a festival in the temple, what is the festival and how has it been continued since then ?

Answer. When the Lord appeared first to Brahma on this hill, the latter, initiated the festival of *Brahmōtsava* in *Kaṇya-māsa* for a period of nine days, from *Dvajharōhaṇa* (flag hoisting) onwards, himself, officiating as the priest. Since then, by his command celebrations are being conducted according to the rites prescribed by him to date, without any break. He further ordained that devotees who arrange for the performance of *Brahmōtsava* on ordinary days also would acquire great merit. Accordingly several people pay the prescribed fees and celebrate this *Utsava*. But during such festivals, except *Dvajharōhaṇa* and *Avarōhaṇa*, every other detail, such as procession of the God on the appointed vehicles (*Vāhanas*) is gone through, as in the regular *Brahmōtsava*. Complimentary presents are given to those devotees who celebrate this festival. Many *bhaktās* (devotees) celebrate *Brahmōtsava*. As Brahma initiated this

form of festival, it is called *Brahmōtsava*. Those who cannot afford to celebrate the *Brahmōtsava* perform *Garudōtsava*, *Kalyaṇōtsava* and other *Utsavas* according to their means, paying the fees prescribed and enjoy the benefits accruing from such services to the Lord.

Question 26. Did Śrī Rāma at any time visit this shrine?

Answer. In Kritayugā Śrī Rāma camped on this Hill for a night along with his monkey horde on his march to Rāvaṇa's kingdom. Then, Hanumān and other monkeys roaming about in the neighbourhood entered the Vaikuṇṭha cave and seeing the splendour of a vision of Lord Śrinivāsa, came out in wonder and narrated their adventure to Śrī Rāma. Śrī Rāma, thinking that it did not behove him to admit that it was all due to his own power of *māyā*, explained to the monkeys that the wonder was all due to the mountain itself. While returning along with Sita and Lakṣmaṇa, after killing Rāvaṇa, Rāma dwelt at Tirupati for sometime. The temple of Kodandarāmasvāmy at Tirupati commemorates this visit. In this temple Śrī Rāma, Sita and Lakṣmaṇa stay in the form of idols and bless their devotees fulfilling their desires. This account is found here and there in several purāṇas and also in Vārāhapurāṇa.

Question 27. Which of the various services in the temple initiated by Brahma or the ancient kings are still continued in the manner prescribed by them?

Answer. Lord Venkatēśvara lived in the forest before he appeared to S'ankha Mahārāja. Then, the fourheaded Brahma used to bathe the God in milk every Friday, himself taking the form of a cow and then worship him performing the various rites. Thereafter, S'ankha Mahārāja and other performed these services regularly. So also even today this *abhiṣeka* (bath) with milk is offered every Friday. Other services are, a service called *Pulakaṇṭu* in which a paste made of civet, sandal, saffron and paccakaṇṭu (refined camphor) is smeared over the Lord; every year *Brahmōtsava* is performed in *Kanyamūsa*. Besides these, *Brahmōtsava*, *Garudōtsava* and *Kalyaṇōtsava* and other *Utsavas* are celebrated whenever devotees arrange for such festivals.

Question 28. What is the reason for the Lord wearing a *Nāgābharāṇa*, (serpent ornament) and the rule for worship with *Bilva* leaves?

Answer. In olden days Agastya and other sages worshipped this Lord as Ś'iva using the special forms of worship prescribed for Ś'iva. This is stated in the sixtieth chapter of Bhavis'yōtara purāṇa. Later on, when Thondamān prayed to this Lord to give him victory over his rival in war, it is said, that this Lord lent him his s'aṅka and cakra, and was without these emblems. He was then worshipped as God Subramanya; *Arcana* (worship) with *bilva* leaves and adornment of the Lord with the *nāgābharāṇa* came into vogue since then. Latterly Ś'ri Rāmāṇja who was a follower of Vaiṣṇavism invested the God with gold emblems denoting s'aṅka and cakra and arranged for worship of the God according to the rites of *Vaikhāṇasa āgama*. It was, then ordained by the Lord himself that *nāgābharāṇa* should continue as before and that he should be worshipped with *bilva* leaves during the month of *Margashī*. Moreover, from time immemorial, it has been declared that as the shrine is equally sacred to all the three religious sects there is sanction for all form of worship on the hill.

Question 29. Leaving out of account the ornaments offered by Brahma and other Gods, who are the kings, in this age, who endowed the shrine with gifts of ornaments etc. and where have they been seen secured now?

Answer. After the s'āka year 1074, from *Projoṭpathi*, King Pratāparudra of Wārāṅgal, reigned for fifty-eight years. He was a famous king. Nine lakhs of bowmen guarded his palace. He ruled from the Narmada to cape Comorin. Pratāparudra offered a *ratnakavaca* (armour studded with rubies) worth eighteen lakhs of gold mohurs and also performed *Kanakābhiṣeka* with eighteen lakhs of gold mohurs. This is inscribed on the walls of the second prakāra of the temple. Innumerable ornaments offered by several kings must be available. That is why there is the tradition that Lord is the "possessor of a crore of ornaments." As the present era is Kaliyuga when most people are likely to be impious and also on account of certain insurrections within the

temple, the treasures are hidden on the path of *Pradaksina* (circumambulation) which is three hundred yards long and forty yards broad; It is closed by doors and rivetted with stones and is not open to public like other places of worship in the temple. Hearing this account, a Tahsildar named Srinivasacarya, attempted to investigate the truth of this tradition. He, however, could not proceed with the work owing to the sudden illness of the men employed for the purpose. He gave it up thinking that it was useless to attempt the task until the Lord himself directed them to do so. Elders say that several other attempts were made to locate the treasure but on every occasion they met with some obstacle or the other.

Question 30. There are ever so many temples in the world but why is it that so many offerings are made to this Lord only?

Answer. It is said in the *Brahmānda purāṇa* that the Lord blesses such devotees as propitiate him with votive offerings, with prosperity, children, good health, victory over enemies and the many good things of life. The Lord through "*Āvesa*" convinces the devotees of His presence and enforces compliance with the vows taken by them. There is a tradition handed down by elders, that once upon a time, when S'ri S'ankarācārya visited the shrine he installed a '*Yantra*' and an "*Akarṣaṇa Cakra*" near the Padmapitam of the God; on that account valuable gifts are being offered to the shrine.

Question 31. What is there in the idol of Venkatēs'vara which is not present in other idols? What are the miraculous happenings within the past one thousand years?

Answer. About eight hundred years ago, a great man, Tirumala Nambi by name, though very old, due to his great devotion to the Lord, used to go to Pāpavināsa *thirtha* daily and bring a potful of water for the worship of the Lord. Days passed when one day when he was bringing water for the worship, the Lord intending to test him, appeared before him in disguise and begged him to give a little water pleading great thirst. But the old man declined to give him any. The Lord then drank up all the water in the pot unknown to Nambi, by causing a hole in

the pot with an arrow, and then disappeared. Finding that the pot he was bringing was empty Nambi once again proceeded to Pāpavināsam *thīrtha* to fill it. But he had fainted on the way. Then the Lord appeared before him, comforted him and instructed him that in future he may get water from Ākāṣagaṅga (which is nearer) and then disappeared. Thenceforward water for the worship of the Lord is being got from Ākāṣagaṅga. The descendants of Nambi are continuing this service to this day. One member of this family was the famous Tirumala Tātācarya.

Tirumala Nambi built a mantapam at the spot where the Lord appeared to him and installed the footprints of the Lord in it. There is an inscription near the spot recording this episode. By the grace of the Lord, there has been plentiful and perennial supply of water in Ākāṣagaṅga and it has not been known to shrink in volume even during the worst drought.

About eight hundred or one thousand years ago a devotee named Ānandālvār was showing his piety by supplying flowers for worship. He wanted to have a good supply of water for the flower garden he had raised and was digging a tank after vowing to take no assistance excepting that of his wife. The Lord could not endure the sight of their labouring without help. Disguising himself as a *brahmācārī* (bachelor) he was helping them in removing the excavated mud and putting up the bund. Ānandālvār when he noticed this, could not tolerate a third party helping in his chosen task for the Lord and threw stones at the *brahmācārī*. One of them caught the bachelor on the chin and he immediately disappeared. In the temple, the *aracakās* who were worshipping the Lord, noticed blood dropping from the chin of the Lord. All were amazed. The Lord through the medium of one of those present (*Āvesa*), narrated how he had sustained the injury. Immediately the *aracakās* applied *gambūra* powder (refined camphor) to that part. Even to this day *gambūra* powder is applied to the chin of the image during the daily worship. The tank too exists to this day and is known as Ānandālvār tāṅk.

About eight hundred years ago another devotee named Kuruka Nambi, born in the potter's caste, was engaged in his traditional

work of making pots. He set up a picture of the Lord in a portion of his hut and was offering worship to it with lotuses made of mud. The *arcahūs* of the Lord at the Tirumalai at the time of worship noticed some lotuses made of mud at the feet of the Lord and were very much amazed. As usual the Lord announced through *Āvesa* that he had accepted these mud lotuses from a devotee named Kuruka Nambi. This Nambi built a gopuram on the path to the Tirumalai hill and this story is recorded in the inscriptions on the gopuram. It is said that his potter's wheel too was seen exhibited on the pathway to the hill for a long time.

About five hundred years ago a great *bairāgi*-chief named Hattirām Bavāji, belonging to Northern India, learning from his guru that he would be blessed with a vision of the Lord on the Tirumalai hills, came over here at the direction of his guru and built himself an ās'ram to the north of the shrine on the pathway to Pāpanāsanam and Ākās'agaṅga at a distance of about twenty-five minutes walk from the shrine. He kept up a "*dhuni*" (a permanent flame burning uncessingly) in front of his ās'ram. He supplied voluntarily the firewood required for preparing *naivēdyams* for the Lord taking in return a very small quantity of the *prasādam* of the God just to keep himself alive. Thus he spent twelve years doing penance. The Lord disguising himself variously now as Yenadi, now as a Yerukvila, and then as a Chenchu tried to frighten him to test whether he had acquired steadiness of mind of the true path. Hattirāmji was steadfast in his devotion. The great *bhakta* piqued at the Lord not favouring him with his *darśan* despite his hard penance for twelve years was getting down the hill determined to leave the place for good. In the guise of a brāhmin Lord Venkatēs'vara followed him and entreated him to remain on the hills but Bavāji would not hear him. The brāhmin accompanied him trying to urge him to stay till they came down the hill as far as Avvaccarikona. Then the Lord out of mercy to his devotee appeared before him in his divine form with both s'aṅkha and cakra. Bavāji then prostrated himself before Him and firmly caught hold of the Lord's feet, placing his head on the Lord's feet. Though the Lord requested him to

release his hold he continued to pray appealingly that he should be blessed with the sight of His divine form eternally. The Lord blessed him accordingly and offered to unite him with himself after his death. Bavāji then went back to the hill with the Lord and remained there ever afterwards as a great devotee of the Lord. It is said that he often played chess with the Lord.

A certain chief of the Devarāya dynasty seeing Hattirām Bavāji told him that his name Hattirām meant an elephant and asked him to prove that he merited the name. The *bhakta*, Hattirām, met the taunt by placing his faith in the Lord. He offered to prove to the king that he was an elephant. He caused an enclosure to be made to accommodate an elephant and such articles as are consumed by elephants to be placed within. Bavāji entered the enclosure in the night and with the blessings of the Lord assumed the form of an elephant. At midnight he made the same noise as an elephant at its feed and consumed all articles kept in the enclosure to feed the elephant. In proof, of the stay of the animal there was the excreta of the elephant in the enclosure. At the break of the day he came out of the enclosure in his human form. The chief who saw this miracle appealed in great consternation for mercy and forgiveness. He became ever after a great devotee of the saint. He spent many years playing dice with the Lord. The Lord advised him to establish a mutt and train a disciple but he did not do so, saying that he did not want anything beyond the service of the Lord. As the advice was repeated several times, he took it as a command, selected a disciple named Giridhara Doss and built a mutt on the elevated ground to the south-east of the temple. He then reported the fact to the Lord and prayed to him that the hierarchy of disciples who would live in the mutt may be provided with a simple fare consisting of the curry of Sama leaves and *rōtis* (chapathis). The Lord was very much pleased at the establishment of the mutt and blessed that ample food and clothes would be provided to the disciples, so long as bells ring in his temple (i.e. so long as worship endures in his own temple). When the devotee asked for meagre fare the Lord duly blessed him with abundance : such is the love of the Lord to his devotees. One day

when Hattirām Bavāji was doing the *pradakṣiṇam* of the temple, the Lord united the spirit of Bavāji with himself. Bavāji's disciple Giridhara Doss Mahant, according to the custom of his community laid the remains of his guru in the *dhuni* kept by him. Even now, the place is known as the "*Samādhi*" and daily worship is offered there. In virtue of the boon of the Lord the two mutts, the one on the hill and the other in Tirupati, have gradually grown in importance and are in a flourishing condition today. Food and provisions are distributed to all *sādhus* and *brāhmins*. The miracles worked by the Lord are innumerable and none can adequately describe them. Books containing accounts of Tirumala Nambi and others written four hundred or five hundred years ago are still extant. With the rapid advance of Kaliyuga the Lord has stopped direct conversations with devotees but still gives proof of His presence through dreams and through mediums who are temporarily inspired (*Āvesam*).

Question 32. How many full *naivedyams* (food offerings) are being hitherto made to the God daily? How many villages and lands have been endowed for the purpose or are the charges being met from cash collections?

Answer. This Lord is offered full *naivedyams* sixty times in the course of the day with the attendant *Karpoora haratis* and *Akhanda Dipārādhanās*. Forty two villages in this neighbourhood, in the Tirupati taluk, have been assigned for this purpose. In addition to this, the then kings used to make munificent contributions for special festivals and celebrations. Moreover, every item of worship without any omission is being done with the amounts contributed by the pilgrims coming here. As a statement of the full details of the villages and the gifts made by the kings and pilgrims will swell this account considerably only a brief abstract is furnished. These details are recorded in the inscriptions on the temple walls.

Question 33. This Lord has ceased to talk to persons directly but He communicates through dreams and *āvesams* (mediums). Again, it is said that the people should not wear the flowers which have been used for decorating the Lord and also

that except the Lord no one while on the hills, should wear flowers and actually this is found in practice now. Are there any reasons for these ?

Answer. Long ago, a certain devotee, Rangadass by name, was supplying flowers to the Lord. He detected a lock of hair in them and was hesitating to offer them to the Lord. Then through *āvesam* the Lord directed that from that date no one should wear *tuḷasi* and flowers on the hills, not even those worn by the Lord and thrown away as *nirmālyam* and that the latter should be put into a well situated in the north-east corner of the Sampangi Pradakṣiṇa. Accordingly, flowers and *tuḷasi* are not worn by any one while on the hills and also the *nirmālyam* of the Lord is put into the well which has hence acquired the name *Podā bhāvi* (the well of flowers).

Question 34. There are ever so many shrines in the land. Why do all people look on this Lord with such unique devotion and awe ?

Answer. Local people or those belonging to other places when they put their trust on this Lord and pray to him fervently, He unfailingly grants their wishes ; besides, when they make vows to him and inadvertently forget them, He immediately reminds them by appearing in their dreams or through *āvesam* and exacts the fulfilment of the vows ; If however, in spite of such warnings the vows remain unfulfilled, the person gets some unexpected trouble, which is relieved immediately on the vow being fulfilled and their faith in the Lord is thus reinforced. By such and various other *leelas* (plays) with His devotees He keeps their faith in Him strong and abiding. Such experiences are not had in other shrines. Hence this shrine enjoys pre-eminence in the estimation of the people.

Question 35. What is the reason for paying an amount equal in value to presents made to the Lord such as ornaments, garments, *vāhanas*, cows, etc. ?

Answer. As the Lord is the fulfiller of the desires of all persons, it has been directed by the Lord himself. There is the precedent of King Prataparudra paying a fee of eighteen lakhs of

mohurs along with his presents of equal value. Recent governments have followed the precedent and levied taxes in order to pay the temple the fees. So great is the sanctity of the shrine that such levies are being paid to this day without question.

Question 36. What are the original sources for the Venkateswara Mahātmyam ?

Answer. It is said in the Upaniṣads that this Lord is the all pervading Viṣṇu present in Vaikunṭha, on the earth and everywhere. In the Taittiriya Upaniṣad, in the fifth parva called 'Nārāyaṇam', it is stated that the Lord shines at the farther end of the water, in the middle of this earthly region, and that He makes the other elements shine through His own light. This is quoted from the commentary of Vidyāraṇya on the said Upaniṣad. In the eighteen purāṇas, including the Mahābhārata, the sanctity of this shrine has been recorded. It is said that the inscriptions on the temple walls also give such details.

Question 37. When and by whom was S'rī Gōvindarājasvāmi installed at Tirupati and who built the temple and compound walls ?

Answer. S'rī Govindarājasvami originally manifested Himself at Chitrakuta (Chidambaram), a place of purāṇic fame. Later on owing to some local disturbances the place was deserted. About five hundred or six hundred years ago, S'rī Rāmānujācārya (the famous advocate of Vaiṣṇavism) brought the idol to Tirupati and installed it in the present place. He also provided the processional images and consecrated them. The kings of the Yādava dynasty, who held sway over this country from S'aka 756 (834 A.D.) constructed the temple, gopurams and prakārams (compound walls). Subsequently, about three hundred years ago, Anantha, a chief of Matla family, built the big entrance gopuram and excavated the two "Buggas" (artesian wells or fountains), within and outside the walls of this gopuram. Later, another chief of the same dynasty, Appayarāju and his Dewan, Musalayya Naidu, renovated the old car but after some time the condition of the car deteriorated. The estate of the Matla chief was also annexed by the Company (East India Company).

Question 38. Who installed Kodandarāmasvāmi at Tirupati at first and who built the temple, the towers and the compound walls ?

Answer. The traditional account is that in the sixty-fourth year of this Kaliyuga, King Janamējaya, who was ruling the country, found the temple in ruins and renovated it, building the main shrine, the tower and the compound walls reinstalling the images of the Gods. The kings of the Yādava dynasty who came into power from the S'aka year 756, reconstructed the temple with mantapams, prakāras and gopurams.

Question 39. When and by whom was the Goddess installed at S'ukapuri, otherwise called Chirtanūru or Tirucanūr ?

Answer. Once, the great sage Bhṛgu, intending to test the *Trimūrtis*, went to Vaikunṭa and S'rī Viṣṇu was reclining on his serpent coach with Lakṣmi by his side. Bhṛgu kicked at the chest of the Lord with his foot. Viṣṇu got up, showed great humility and expressed regret for the pain caused to the sage by his foot coming into contact with the hard surface of his chest. On the pretext of relieving the pain by massaging the foot He (Lord) put out the eye which the sage possessed in his foot. Goddess Lakṣmi noticing that the Lord was humbling himself and rendering service to a man who had the effrontery to kick at the place of her abode, got enraged and parted from Viṣṇu and hid herself at Kolhāpur. The Lord unable to endure the pangs of separation went in search of her and reached Kolhāpur, which is situated at a distance of about five hundred miles from S'ēs'ācalam. He could not find her there and was in consequence very much distressed. Then, a voice from the sky directed him that five miles to the south of the S'ēs'ācalam (which was to the north of Kolhāpur) there was a village S'ukapuri, on the banks of the Svarṇamukhi river, and that He should go there, excavate a lake with His *Gadāyudha*, obtain and nurse in the lake the lotus creeper of the celestial regions which yields golden lotuses and instal the Sun God to the east of the lake so as to keep the lotuses always in bloom and then engage himself in penance when, the voice declared, Goddess Lakṣmi would appear before Him. Lord Viṣṇu accordingly proceeded to the place, dug

a lake, introduced the divine lotus creeper into it, installed Surya-nārāyaṇa on the bank and engaged himself in penance. To the intense joy of the Lord Goddess Lakṣmi appeared before Him in a lotus in the middle of the lake. He then built a shrine for her to the north of the temple where S'ri S'uka had installed Īalarāma and Kṛṣṇa for his worship and settled the Goddess in it under the name of Padmāvatī. He instituted an annual festival called *Āvabhyatotsavam* on a *Pancami* day, the Lord Himself paying her a State visit in due form from the hills bringing with Him presents of garlands, sarees, blouses, pan, turmeric, *kunkum* and *panniyarams*, (articles priced by married women as auspicious gifts). Since then a *Brahmōtsavam* festival is being conducted annually in the month of *Kārthigai*, the *Dvajarōhaṇam* commencing eight days prior to *Pancami* and ending with *Āvabhidotsavam*. The festival is widely known as the *Cirtānūr Pancami* festival. About two hundred years ago, the Rājahs of Karvetnagar, reconstructed the lake and arranged for some special services. About one hundred years ago, one S'ri Nārāyaṇa Pillai of Madras and a few others constructed stone steps leading to the lake.

Details regarding the origin of the image of the Goddess and other matters connected with the shrine are found in the thirty-fourth chapter of S'ri Padmapurāṇa. By the grace of the Lord Venkatēs'vara since then the temple of the Goddess has been considerably enlarged by the construction of additional mantapams, etc. and the services to her are being performed with ever increasing magnificence and splendour by her own devotees and of Venkatēs'vara.

Question 10. Are there any remarkable features in the Goddess, such as those of Lord Venkatēs'vara? Do pilgrims who visit S'ri Venkatēs'vara on the hills visit this temple also and offer similar kinds of services and gifts?

Answer. By virtue of Divine grace abiding in the Goddess great powers are manifested by Padmāvatī also. As evidence of this, it is seen that large crowds of people both men and women, throng to this shrine on Fridays and offer special worship and

taligais (food offerings) in order to obtain their objects. Those who pray for children are blessed with children. Persons possessed by evil spirits and *grahās*, such as *sākini* and *dākini* pray for release from them and obtain relief. Those who have lost their sight and even the lame put absolute faith in the Goddess and do *pradakṣiṇams* and *namaskārams* to her for some period. They get back their sight and limbs. Her grace shines in proportion to the intensity of the faith and devotion of each worshipper. All pilgrims who visit the hills of the Lord invariably visit the Goddess also and make presents of garments, jewels, *taligais* and also contribute according to their means for special *utsavas* such as *Garudavāhanam*, (elephant) *gajavāhanam*, etc. Further, people from Tirupati and surrounding localities take vows and visit the shrine on Fridays, bathe in the lake do *pradakṣiṇam* and make offerings of food, lights, clothes and jewels. Several people from various places pay the prescribed fees and arrange for burning daily *akhandams* before the Goddess and for daily performance of *tuḷsi* and *kunkum* arcanās according to the prescribed rites. Therefore there is basis for thinking that great powers abide also in Goddess S'rī Pādmāvatī.

(To be concluded.)

The Secretary requests that—

- (1) Every member will kindly introduce at least one friend to the Society during the current year and thus help to popularise the work of the Society.
- (2) Members who can afford it will help to build up a capital fund by converting their ordinary membership into life membership.
- (3) Members who have not yet remitted their subscriptions will kindly remit them on receipt of this issue of the Journal.
- (4) Members will be so good as to send us odd copies of Nos. 1 to 4 of Volumes VIII and IX of the Q.J.M.S. If they so desire, the copies will be paid for at As. 12 each.

SIRUMANA CARITE

BY H. SREENIVASA JOIS.

SIRUMA and his five warrior sons were ruling a petty kingdom of Budihal in the middle of the 15th century A.D. Their exploits have been described in two Kannada works in the *Sāṅgatyā* metre by different poets in simple yet spirited style. "*Sirumana Sāṅgatyā*" by Poet Sidda is noticed in Kavicarite, Part II, page 556. I am now in possession of the other work written by Kavi Rāma, son of Kencha Setty, named "*Sirumana Carite*" which contains 13 cantos and 1065 verses.

An outline of this story is as follows:

1. A chieftain by name Siruma, Golla by caste, was ruling a petty kingdom of Budihal with his queen Chikkamma and five warrior sons by name, Kacha, Kumāra Mallanna, Virabhadra, Nambianna and Somayya. The king was a devotee of Someśa of Budihal. He was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom assisted by his able and honest minister Kallarasa. He went on a hunting expedition to a forest in the neighbouring kingdom of Hiriyr where he saw the Daśaratha Rāmeśa temple. He worshipped the God with devotion and after receiving *Gandha* (*Sandal paste*) and *prasāda*, returned home.

2. King Kasava Naik of Hiriyr was enraged at Siruma's encroachment of his game preserve and he marched against Budihal but was defeated. With the help of his neighbouring kings he then laid siege to Singatagere fort, belonging to Siruma. Kumāra Mallanna defeated the combined armies and captured their horses and cattle and tethered them in a special stall built for the purpose and named it as "Hiriyr Stables". All these defeated kings assembled in a meeting at Hiriyr and resolved to enlist the aid of Sāḷuva Narasiṅga Rāya of Chandragiri to punish Siruma.

3. King Kasava and Ekkati Ganga went to Chandragiri and prayed to Sāḷuva Narasiṅga Rāya for help. To a question by Sāḷuva Narasiṅga Rāya they stated that Siruma and his warrior

sons were defending Budihal with the help of 700 horses and an army of foot. They also promised that all the kings of *Melnādu* (above the Ghats) would become his vassals and pay an annual tribute if Siruma's pride were to be put down. Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya consented to do so. He gathered all his forces and marched to Hiriyr halting at Bhimavaram, Rangasamudra, Gorantlu, and Penukonde at which last place he reviewed his large army. Prominent commanders who accompanied him in this expedition are Gorantee Thipparāja, Gandikote Tirumala Rāja, Tadapatre Singarāja, Guruva Rāja, Thammarāja, Basava Rāja, Komma Rāja, Koneti Rāja, Thipparāja, Thimmarāja, Veerabāṇa, Bommayya Bolaku Nāga, Veera Morasa and Rāmarāya.

From Penukonda they continued their march to Hiriyr. After passing through the Harayū tank bed the chieftain Obanaik of Midigesi who behaved arrogantly was defeated and his fort was occupied by the army of Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya. Then they reached Hiriyr where he was honoured by the Karnāṭaka Kings, such as Honnavalli Vedarāja, Keśava Rāja, Kudre Rājayya Channama Rāja and Chetti Rāja.

4. King Govinda of Bāgur was a great friend of Siruma and his fort was first laid siege to by the invaders lest he should help Siruma. Govinda suffered much in the very first attack and sought the help of Siruma. Kachendia the Yuvarāja with a selected band of warriors, entered Bāgur fort, cutting through Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya's army.

5. Yet, refusing Kacha's advise and succour,^o Govinda purchased peace from Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya by paying 7 lakhs of gold pieces. Kacha returned to Budihal, again carving for himself a passage through the army of Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya who was greatly pleased at the bravery of Kachendia. Then they crossed the Vēdavati and laid siege to Budihal. Kumāra Mallanna killed many brave soldiers in the *Muncina Kūḷaga* (the first engagement with the advance army).

6. Queen Chikkamma brought about the death of several enemy soldiers by offering poisoned puddings while performing the pooja of Goddess Gangamma.

7. In the first Kaggole Kachanna and Kumāra Mallanna killed a great number of Narasinga Rāya's army; Veda Rāja, Keśava Naik, Kesava Rāja and Ekkati Gānga ran from the battle field for their lives. The heroes returned triumphantly laden with booty.

8. Sāluva Narasinga Rāya was pleased at the bravery of the heroic sons of Siruma. A day's truce was called. Sāluva Narasinga Rāya went round the Budihal fort and was struck by its beauty and impregnability. He wanted to spare this fort as well as its brave defenders. He therefore sent Rudra Rāya brother-in-law of Siruma offering terms which were completely declined by Siruma on the advice of his sons. He declared that he would fight to the finish. In the fight that ensued Nambianna the fourth son of Siruma fell. The other sons of Siruma killed many warriors in the enemy's camp and brought in a large booty.

9. On the same night Uddagiri Kumāra sent words secretly with a trusted servant to Kumāra Mallayya offering to meet him in a single combat. Kumāra Mallayya without intimating it to anybody in his camp came out of the fort and fought with the brave warrior and brought back as trophy Uddagiri Kumāra's head and his horse.

10. Next day virulent fighting took place. Viswa Rāja a trusted hero of Sāluva Narasinga Rāya, was killed while attempting to scale the fort walls. His wives who accompanied him to the battle field performed *Sati*. Veerabhadra the third son of Siruma died of a wound caused by a gunshot.

11. Six months passed and the victory was as far away as at the start. Narasinga Rāya became desperate had an underground passage to the town cut. Luckily for the defenders Siruma's brother-in-law Rudra Rāya conveyed the secret to him on the night prior to the date fixed for the entry of the fortress just in time for Siruma to have a counter passage prepared. When the enemy were attempting to enter the passage it was set fire and 12,000 invaders perished.

12. In the next battle Yuvarāja Kacha slaughtered 700 soldiers before he died. Malla Naik brother of Siruma was also killed in the battle. Bhira Naik a trusted supporter of Siruma being

his wife's brother jumped from the fort and fled to the opposite side. He advised Narasinga Rāya to assault the fortress the very next day alone as Kacha and Malla Naik were dead, to which Narasinga Rāya assented. Kumāra Mallayya wanted to kill the ladies and children so that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. His youngest brother Somayya and his younger sisters were spared at the request of the parents and were entrusted to the care of a Yogi with a large sum of money and to instal Somayya on the Gadi after he came of age. Kumāra Mallayya fought like lion and died in the battle field after the *Johar* was over.

Kumāra Mallayya's head was cut off and was shown to Sāluva Narasinga Rāya who at the request of the Budihal subjects sent it in procession placed in a decorated palanquin. Then it was burnt. He was deified and a temple was built for him which exists even today. Sāluva Narasinga Rāya entered the fort triumphantly. He then went to Huliya and thence to Penugonda where he dispersed the commanders after honouring them suitably.

Somayya after attaining majority occupied the throne of Budihal and rebuilt it with the aid of money hidden for the purpose and ruled the kingdom happily.

Budihal is a village in the Hosdurga Taluk of Chitaldrug District, Mysore State, situated in 13.37 Lat. and 76.25 E. Long, 19 miles south-east of Hosadurga town. It is now named as Sreeramapura. Hiriya is on the right bank of Vēlavati at the bifurcation of the Bangalore High road to Bellary and to Chitaldrug. It is the headquarters of the Hiriya Taluk. It was founded by a chief from Mayasamudra named Keśava Naik. Bāga is a village in Hosadurga Taluk. It was then the chief town of that quarter.

Sāluva Narasinga Rāya: He was born as the gift son of his parents Gunda IV and Mallamambika. Gunda is said to have retired to the forests after installing his son in his own chieftainship. He was in charge of parts of North-Arcot and Kolar Districts and Chandragiri fort which is about 7 miles from Tirupati was his capital. He soon grew into power owing to the weakness

of the Central Government. He rose from the position of chieftain (Mahārāja) to that of an Emperor. Nuniz says that he ruled for a period of 44 years. His period of rule may be counted as 1453-1497. A. D.

Among the generals and administrators who served under Sālūva Narasinga Rāya, the following may be mentioned :

Cittiganganna, Āravēti Bukka Īśvara, Narasa, Nāganna Naik, Āravēti Bukka's sons and grandsons.

Cittiganganna may be identified as Ekkati Ganga of this poem. In the Varahapurāṇam the conquest of Bāgur is mentioned. It is there stated that Daḷavai Īśvara was responsible for the conquest of Bāgur. Probably Īśvara died some time between 1478 and 1479 A.D. It is to be presumed that the conquest of Bāgur took place some time between 1464-1479.

Āravidu Bukka and his progeny:—In the "*Rāmarājīyamu*" Āravidu Bukka is described as *Sālūva Navasimha Rājya Pratistapana-ārya*, i.e. the firm establisher of the kingdom of Sālūva Narasinga Rāya. Among the warriors that accompanied Sālūva Narasinga Rāya there seems to be some persons related to this Āravēti Bukka.

Bukka married two wives and by the former he had several sons of whom Singa was the eldest who subsequently became the chief of Nandyal. Tādapatri Singarāja of this poem may be identified as this Singarāja, as Tādaptri was within the jurisdiction of these chiefs. By Balladevi, the second wife, Bukka had a son named Rāma Rāja I. Rāma Rāja of this poem may be identified with Rāma Rāja I of the genealogy noted below. Rāma Rāja I is credited with many great feats of which three appear to be of outstanding merit, according to the copper plate grants and the *Rāmarājīyamu*; of which the first is, that he is stated to have taken the fortress of Adoni despite the fact that it was defended by a garrison of 70,000 horse and army of foot by one Kasappodeya who is said to have vied with Indra in power. The verse describing

this fact is mentioned in copper plates (Shimoga 83, Tumkur 1 and Chikkanaikanahalli 39) The verse runs as follows :—

ಸಹಸ್ರೈಸ್ಸಪ್ತತ್ಯಾಸಹಿತಮುಪಿಯಃಸಿಂದುಧು ಜನಿಸಾಂ
 ಸಪಾದಸ್ಯಾನೀಕಂಸಮಿತಿಭುಜಶಾಯೇಣಮಹತಾ |
 ವಿಜಿತ್ಯಾದತ್ತೇನ್ಮಾದವನಿಗಿರಿದುರ್ಗಂವಿಭುತಯಾ
 ವಿಧೂತೇಂದ್ರಃಕಾಸಪ್ತುಡೆಯಮವಿದ್ರಾವ್ಯಸಹಸಾ ||

In the light of the *Sirumana Carite* by slightly modifying the verse it may be translated as follows :—

Rāma Rāja by the might of his arm captured Vibhūtipuradurga despite the fact that it was defended by a garrison of 700 horse and an army of foot by one Kasappodeya who vied with Indra in power. Vibhūtipura is a sanscritised name of Badihal. Kasappodeya is another name of Kacha of *Bala-bhāgavatamu*.

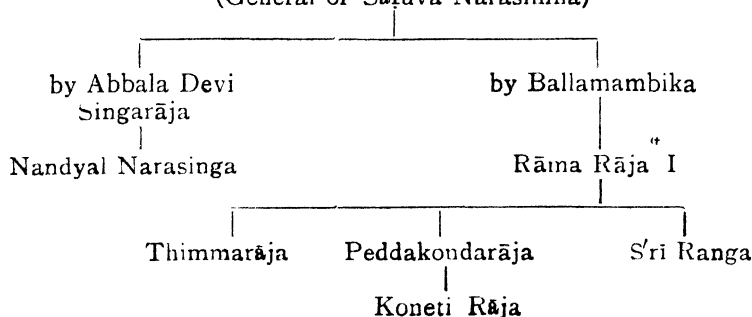
If my interpretation is correct identification of some more warriors becomes definite.

Thus Sirumana Carite is a valuable source to unearth the several stages in the early career of Sālūva Narasinga Rāja.

BUKKA'S GENEALOGY

Āravēti Bukka

(General of Sālūva Narasimha)



PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY, BANGALORE.

Sunday, the 18th of May 1947.

DIWAN BAHADUR DR. SIR A. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR,

K.C.S.I., D.C.L.

(DEWAN OF MYSORE)

in the Chair.

THE Thirty Sixth Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society was held on Sunday, the 18th of May 1947 at 6 P.M. with Diwan Bahadur Dr. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, K.C.S.I., D.C.L., Dewan of Mysore, in the Chair.

In welcoming the distinguished Chairman, the President of the Society, Rajadharmaprasakta T. Singaravelu Mudaliar, said :

“ DEWAN SAHEB,

“ As President of the Mythic Society, it is my privilege to offer you a hearty welcome to our Society. Your life has been unique not only in the various experiences you have had but also in the remarkable services you have rendered to the public at large. After graduating from the Madras Christian College, and the Law College, Madras, you were a member of the Madras Bar for some time. The profession was not wide enough for you nor was mere pecuniary advantage your ambition. Therefore you did not continue long in it but took to wider activities to serve the public. To mention a few among them Member of the Legislative Council, Madras, and then Council Secretary in the Reformed Council in Madras. You were also the Honorary Editor of the newspaper ‘Justice.’ You served the Madras Corporation as Mayor of Madras, having been elected twice thereto.

“ Your talents attracted the attention of men in position and your services were required for wider fields of activities as Member of the Council of State and as Member of the Three Round Table Conferences from 1930-32. I can speak with personal knowledge of your contributions to the Round Table Conferences, for I have had an opportunity of being present at the Conferences and was personally aware of the acknowledgments which the President, Lord Sankey, then Lord Chancellor, made

about your valuable contributions to the Conferences. Later, your services were requisitioned for global work. You have also taken part in the various international bodies, such as the League of Nations and in the Commonwealth Relations Conference, the Imperial Economic Committee and the Nine-Power Conference of 1937. You were also a Member of the Government of India from 1937. You were deputed to the San Francisco Conference in 1945 and have had the coveted distinction of being appointed as President of the Economic Conference of the U.N.O. (United Nations Organisation) in 1946 and re-elected as President of that Conference. And you have been appointed by our gracious Sovereign as Dewan of the Mysore State.

"In the various capacities in which you have served the public, it has been enriched by your splendid oratory, able administration, successful journalism and eminent statesmanship.

"Mysore has been in the van of modern and progressive constitutions in the world and has long been a model for other Indian States. It is common knowledge that there are various elements in our country, all alive to their rights to take part in the governance of the State. Mysore has had the benefit of beneficent rule. The Rulers have been alive to the legitimate aspirations of the people and have been giving them a considerable share in the administration.

"His Highness the Mahārāja, our beloved Sovereign, has placed in your able hands the task of preparing a constitution for Mysore in an All-India setting. We confidently look forward, in the constitution which will be finally evolved, to a governance of the State in which due and appropriate recognition of the needs and requirements of the people will be happily blended with the time-honoured traditions and attributes of a Sovereign embodied in our beloved Ruler, the Mahārāja of Mysore.*

"Now, coming to our Society, the Mythic Society is devoted to antiquarian research and cultural studies. Looking back into the activities of the past, India has had a glorious past. Her

* 'Responsible Government' has since been entrusted to the people of Mysore with a Popular Cabinet at the head and a Constituent Assembly to draft the constitution.

records have not been preserved in manuscripts to visualise the varied achievements of our great ancestors. We have to get a glimpse thereof by a study of her history, mythology, archæology, architecture, sculpture, painting, fine arts, ethnology, numismatics and allied sciences comprised in the generic term of Indology.

“This study is the most absorbing of all human studies—the study of man himself. It discloses that there is a gradual revealing of the Soul of a human being, that spark of the Divine Spirit in man gradually evolving itself into enlightened humanity. Through all the achievements of the past runs a golden thread of unity: the one pointed out by Lord S’ri Kṛṣṇa in the Bhagavad Gita: ‘I am the thread that runs through these various ideas; each one of which is like a pearl.’ The evolution of the soul in the past would indicate the trend towards which we would be developing ourselves into the future.

“We are, indeed, thankful to you, Sir, for having accepted the Vice-Presidentship of this Society and thus helped to contribute towards its activities with your brilliant capacities and equipment.

“I now request you, Sir, to preside over the deliberations of this Meeting.”

Mr. S. Srikanthya the General Secretary and Treasurer, then presented the Annual Report for 1945-46:

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1945-46

The Committee of the Mythic Society have great pleasure to present you this evening a report of the Society’s activities during the year 1945-46.

We respectfully felicitate our Patron, His Highness Sir Sri Jaya Chāmarāja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.B. on the distinction of the Grand Cross of the Bath graciously bestowed on him by His Majesty the King-Emperor.

We rejoice with the rest of the people of Mysore at the birth of a daughter to our Patron, His Highness Sir Sri Jaya Chāmarāja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.B. and pray Almighty may be pleased to shower His choicest blessings on the Princess Gāyatri Devi and her parents.

Membership: The second World-war with its aftermath has affected the strength of our membership. We trust that it will be possible for us to augment our membership and to retain old members. We appeal to members to introduce new members to the Society to assist us in carrying on our work more satisfactorily. Members who can afford are requested kindly to contribute to the capital fund by converting their ordinary membership into life membership and also by making donations.

We deeply regret to record the death of the following : Raja-charithavisarada Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao, Editor, Journalist and author of the revised edition of the Mysore Gazetteer, Raja-sevasakta Professor B. M. Srikantia, a devoted student of Kannada and associated with Kannada Sāhitya Pariṣad, Rajaśvevasakta Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, one of the founders of the Mythic Society, a brilliant historian and scholar, Mr. F. Foulkes of Salem, the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastry, the silver-tongued orator and statesman and ambassador; Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, the great constitutional lawyer and publicist; Pandit Madana Mohan Malaviya, an embodiment of Hindu Culture and founder of the Benares Hindu University; Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the retired Director-General of Archæology in India; and Mr. A. L. Puttaiya of Bangalore: and we tender our heart-felt condolences to the bereaved members of their families.

Finance: The total receipts of the Society during the year including an opening balance of Rs. 16-15-3 were Rs. 5,714-3-7. The total expenditure was Rs. 4,912-5-9 as against Rs. 4,058-5-3 in the previous year. A sum of Rupees Five Hundred has been added to the Reserve Fund which now stands at Rs. 13,250-0-0. Bills to the extent of about Rs. 500 were still outstanding at the end of the year and have since been realised. The amount in the Staff Provident Fund showing a Closing Balance of Rs. 164-2-0 is deposited in the Savings Bank in the State Huzur Treasury, Account No. 19384.

Our thanks are due to Mr. T. M. S. Subramaniam, Government Certified Auditor, who continues kindly to audit the accounts of the Society in an Honorary Capacity for over twenty years.

We are grateful to the Government of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore for renewing the temporary grant of Rs. 150 per month during the years 1946-47 and 1947-48. We hope and pray that this temporary grant of Rs. 150 a month will be augmented to at least Rs. 250 a month* on a permanent basis as we have been praying for over two decades, to enable us to accomplish much more than what we have been able to do.

We appeal to public philanthropy in support of our activities which are greatly appreciated all over the world. Funds are required for getting a large number of books and periodicals bound, to purchase recent publications, to provide a suitable structure for the ever-growing library and to bring the catalogue of the library up-to-date.

Reading Room: The number of visitors to the free reading room attached to the Society continues to be steady as usual. Daily and weekly papers are placed on the table. Important periodicals are bound and made available to the visitors also who make good use of them. The subscriptions for the papers paid during the year amounted to Rs. 178-2-0.

Library: The Library of the Society possesses many rare and valuable books on subjects in which we are interested. Scholars from all parts of India and outside come to the Society for study and research. The acquisition of valuable periodicals and reports of archaeological and epigraphical departments continues.* We appeal to all those interested in our work to present books and periodicals dealing with antiquarian research to this library. We are obliged to the Government of India, the several Provincial Governments in India, the Governments of Mysore, Baroda, Hyderabad, Travancore, Cochin and Jaipur; the Universities of Mysore, Madras, Calcutta, Dacca, Benares, Allahabad, Annamalai and Travancore; and to various authors,

*We are glad to inform our members that after the report was drafted and approved the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore have been graciously pleased to enhance the temporary grant to Rs. 250 per month with effect from 1st January 1947. We pray that this grant will be made permanent. We are highly grateful to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and to the distinguished Chairman of the Meeting for this generous act,

editors, and publishers for their kind patronage and for sending their publications for accession to the library and for review in our Quarterly. The total cost of books received during the year and added to the library amounts to more than Rs. 200-0-0.

Journal: The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society maintains the high standard set for it by its promoters. The October 1945 issue and the January 1946 and the April 1946 issues were published during 1945-1946 and the July 1946 issue was since published. The October 1946 issue is in the press and is expected to be published in a few days.

Owing to a relaxation of the rules in the Paper Control (Economy) Order, we are glad to inform our subscribers and readers, that the subsequent issues of the Journal will contain eighty pages, instead of the sixty four pages which we were publishing so far.

Exchanges: Amongst our exchanges are included most of the important periodicals of the world. The list is being revised from time to time. The nominal value of periodicals received in exchange amounts to over Rs. 300-0-0.

Daly Memorial Hall: The Daly Memorial Hall and the premises continue to be maintained in good condition. The Hall is in constant demand and the several departments of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, and the Adult Literacy Council were among the many that held their meetings in the Daly Memorial Hall. The Hall is being used by Government, Quasi-Government and public institutions and by private parties.

The Hall was placed at the disposal of the Election Commissioner in Mysore from 10-8-1945 to 28-2-1946 as desired by the Government of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore for conducting his Court. The Government sanctioned a rent of Rs. 150 per month during the period the Election Commissioner held his Court in the Daly Memorial Hall. We desire to record our sense of gratitude to the Government for the rent sanctioned above.

General: We desire to congratulate Lt. Col. P. Gaisford, Rajasevasakta S. Venkatesaiya, Diwan Bahādur C. S. Srinivasa-chari, Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar and Sir T. Thumboo Chetty on the respective distinctions and titles bestowed on them.

The work of the Society is very much appreciated as one of the culture centres in India and its journal has a wide circulation.

We beg to express our deep debt of gratitude to His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore, the Government of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore, the Government of India and to the Honourable the Resident in Mysore, for their continued sympathy and support.

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Adoption of the Report :

Rajadharmaprasakta T. Singaravelu Mudaliar proposed that the Annual Report presented by the General Secretary & Treasurer, be adopted. On being seconded by Rajasevaprakashta R. N. Mirzā, the report was put to vote and adopted.

Election of President.

Rao Bahadur Lokasevasakta B. K. Garudachar proposed Rajadharmaprasakta T. Singaravelu Mudaliar be elected President for the year 1946-47. Seconded by Mr. J. Rudrappa, the proposition was put to vote and Rajadharmaprasakta T. Singaravelu Mudaliar was unanimously elected President for the year 1946-47.

Election of Office-bearers.

Proposed by Rajasevasakta P. Subbarama Chetty and seconded by Mr. Syed Ghouse Mohiyuddin the following Office-bearers were elected for 1946-47.

Vice-Presidents :

Diwan Bahadur DR. SIR A. RAMASWMI MUDALIAR,
K.C.S.I., D.C.L.

Pradhanasiromani N. MADHAVA RAU, C.I.E.

Rajasabhabhushna Diwan Bahadur K. R. SREENIVASA
IYENGAR, M.A.

Rajamantrapravina A. V. RAMANATHAN, B.A.

General Secretary & Treasurer

S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L.

Editor

S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L.

Branch Secretaries :

Anthropology :— Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.).

History :—Rev. Fr. C. Browne, M.A.

Committee :

the above *ex-officio* and Messrs.

J. R. Issac, B.A., M.B.E.

Rajasevaprakashta A. N. Raghavachar, M.A.

Dr. K. N. V. Sastri, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S.

Capt. Rao Bahadur A. Tangavelu Mudaliar

V. T. Tirunarayana Iyengar, M.A.

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CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH

Diwan Bahadur Dr. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, the distinguished guest of the evening, rising amidst acclamation addressed the Meeting and said :

"Mr. President and Members of the Mythic Society,

"I do not propose to make any long speech particularly as I do not feel I am qualified to address a cultured and intellectual audience like this. I have been at some pains to go through the proceedings of the previous meetings and found that the Chairmen were gentlemen who had distinguished themselves in the study of antiquities and who had taken part in research and had disclosed great learning on the subjects dealt with by them. I have no claims to any knowledge on such subjects but it is merely as a layman, as one who has only got a general knowledge of the glories which can be unearthed from our land in culture, in architecture, in anthropology and in various other things that I have accepted this honour. The Mythic Society of Mysore is not altogether a stranger to me. The fame of this Society has spread far and wide in India and abroad in several other parts of the world also. Living in close relationship with Mysore in the neighbouring province of Mādras, it is only natural that I should have heard something about the activities of the Society and of the activities of its distinguished members. Tributes have been paid year after year to the president-founder of

your Society who brought so much glory by his personal attention given to the activities and work of the Society. Therefore it is quite unnecessary for me to refer to his great work. There are members of the Society who have distinguished themselves similarly. There are many researches conducted by the members of your society which have added lustre to the archæics of this country. When I was in the Government of India, I have had the opportunity of visiting the great excavations of Harappa, Mohenjo-daro, Taxila and other places and I have been very much impressed by the stage of civilisation that was reached in this country five thousand years ago, by the adroit way in which, even at that time, various scientific methods were used. There is every reason why your Society should take interest not only in archæology but also devote itself to the study of and fostering the development of culture. Need I say how important it is that research in our variegated cultures should be more systematically conducted, particularly because of their highest practical importance today. If only we could understand and thereby appreciate the cultures of the different communities that live in this country, if only we could come to know each other better through a study of these cultures, I am sure the solution of the problems of this country would be more simple than it is at present. It is the greatest remover of all barriers for a perfect understanding. How few of us know really something of the cultures of each other? We take a great deal of pride in our culture, but our pride will be the greater and our knowledge all the more profound, if we were to understand the culture of those who differ from us. By culture is not meant those little artificial attractions which from the outside may present a very pleasing aspect to the eye. Culture is something very much more profound and deep.

“Your Secretary was pleased to refer to the increased Government Grant that has just been sanctioned. I am glad that that grant was sanctioned before I took the Chair this evening. (Laughter). I found year after year you were putting forward this request, that the grant may be increased to Rs. 250 permanently. My colleagues took the view that they would be remedying the long-felt need of the Society and so it is that the Government

of Mysore has increased the grant to Rs. 250 per mensem with effect from 1st January 1947. There seems to be some doubt entertained whether it is a permanent grant. It will be a recurring grant, sanctioned year after year. I do not think that it is a permanent grant. To speak of the permanence of the grant is beyond my capacity and beyond the capacity of the Government of Mysore. The grant has been given by Government because of its appreciation of the work of this Society for 35 years or more. After coming into existence in the year 1909, it will complete its 40th year very shortly and that itself is a great testimony for any organization. I venture to hope by this testimony and appreciation the Government have shown to the activities of the Society, your membership will increase and that your activities will also develop. In a society like this heads will not count and therefore I am not advocating merely large increase in the number of members. I think those who are in a position to contribute will join the Society and increase its activities. I am aware, Sir, in these difficult days it is hardly possible for anybody to spare much time for work which is so interesting, but this can be taken by enthusiastic men. But you will forgive me if I give my own experience. It is always easy for a man to find time especially if he is hard-worked. The man who works continuously can find time, but a person who works occasionally will never find time at all. Remember I am referring to a set of intellectuals whose main occupation is intellectual work, who feel lost if they were not doing anything. I know there are officials who have retired and who feel completely lost because they have not got that work to which they were accustomed day after day. I know people whose physical stamina crumbles down when their work ceases and when they cannot keep their mind active. But this is not so the case in European countries, particularly when people are asked to develop hobbies which can keep them employed when normal work ceases. I can think of nothing better for one who has lived an active intellectual life than to take to this sort of study when one's official career comes to an end, which after an active life will be a sort of relaxation and a welcome change.

"I trust that I am not putting any fanciful ideas before you, if

I suggest that the scope of your activities may expand a little more and that they need not interfere with your normal activities which you have carried on in the first four decades of your existence. Investigations are not necessarily in the field of antiquities only, but investigations and researches are required in the present day-to-day problems of the community, and the Society may well keep in touch and conduct research in these also. Today we are in the grip of many problems facing us. We want free thinking people who will work without any bias whatsoever and we want their examination of the problems. Controversial matters of any kind—there are a great many questions which require thoughtful examination, problems of world controversy—do require a cold logical examination and solution. I think the Mythic Society will do a great service to the public if it takes on itself the task of finding solution of such problems. I am not giving you this without a precedent. For example, there is a Society working in England. There is a Council called Royal Society of International Affairs. It is expected to study all international problems. It has been given the Charter by the King and so it is called a Royal Society. These problems are examined by the members of the Society. There is a study circle formed. There will be groups of persons who will supervise the work of these members and ultimately the group will bring their suggestions in the form of a pamphlet or an article in the journal of the Society.

“Similarly, I suggest, in addition to your researches into the ancient past you may take to a research of the problems which are of immediate concern to present-day life and the utility of this Society may thereby be greatly enhanced. By so doing the Society will not only be keeping up its tradition but its future will be more glorious than the past. If only we tackle these problems with no motivation of a particular kind behind it, but purely as an intellectual pursuit, I feel certain that the results will be worth the trouble and be of great benefit to our Society.

“Mr. President, I thank you and the members for the honour you have done me in electing me as the Vice-President and I

assure you that any small contribution I can contribute, I will only be too glad to do."

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Reverend Father C. Browne in proposing a vote of thanks expressed the gratitude of the members of the Mythic Society to the distinguished Chairman who amidst his multifarious activities and duties should have found it convenient to preside over the meeting and conduct the proceedings of the day and felt sure that under the capable guidance of Dr. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar as a Vice-President the Society would make a remarkable progress. He also recalled to the audience the able guidance which the Society continues to have under the Presidentship of Rajadharma-prasakta T. Singaravelu Mudaliar and wished that he would long continue to guide the Society as its President. Speaking of Mr. S. Srikantaya, the General Secretary and Treasurer, Rev. Fr. Browne remarked that he was the stone and pillar of the Society who had worked for its cause for the past thirty years and wished that he would work for another thirty years.

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With Three Cheers to His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore, Our Patron, the meeting terminated.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE
OF
THE MYTHIC SOCIETY
FOR
THE YEAR ENDING 30TH JUNE 1946

Statement of Receipts and Expenditure of the Mythic

RECEIPTS				AMOUNT		
				Rs.	A.	P.
1. Subscriptions:—						
Resident Members	...	...	...	214	0	0
Mofussil Members	...	...	...	315	12	0
Life Members	...	...	...	50	0	0
2. Government Grants:—						
Government of Mysore :						
Maintenance Grant	...	...	...	550	0	0
Grant to Society	...	...	...	1,650	0	0
Library Grant	...	...	...	300	0	0
Government of India	...	...	...	300	0	0
3. Provident Fund Contribution from Staff	...			55	4	0
4. Interest and Dividend	...	...	...	528	12	0
5. Recovery from Staff	...	...	...	119	0	0
6. Sales	...	...	...	61	9	0
7. Rent and Hall charges	...	...	...	1,138	6	0
8. Fixed Deposits Matured and Realised	...	...	...	200	0	0
9. Advertisements	...	...	...	120	0	0
10. Miscellaneous	...	...	...	94	9	4
Total				5,697	4	4
Opening Balance on 1-7-1945				16	15	3
GRAND TOTAL				5,714	3	7
Reserve Fund (at Face Value) :—						
					Rs.	A. P.
Government of Mysore 5 per cent Stock	...			1,500	0	0
" " 4 per cent Stock	...			9,800	0	0
Debentures of the Mysore Central Co-operative						
Land Mortgage Bank, Ltd.	...	...	...	500	0	0
National Savings Certificates	...	...	...	700	0	0
Five Years' Savings Certificates of Mysore Government	...	...	...	199	13	0
Fixed Deposit in the Bank of Mysore, Ltd.	...	...	...	300	0	0
Two Shares in the Bank of Mysore, Ltd.	...	...	...	200	0	0
Deposit in State Huzur Treasury Savings Bank.	...	...	...	50	3	0
TOTAL				13,250	0	0

BANGALORE

1st November 1946.

EXPENDITURE					AMOUNT		
					Rs.	A.	P.
1. Establishment:—							
Pay to Staff					1,184	0	0
Electric Charges					87	3	0
Water Charges					1	8	0
Cycle Account					34	4	0
Livery to servants					73	4	0
Premises					90	0	0
Garden					25	0	0
Provident Fund Account					115	5	0
Electric Accessories					53	14	0
2. Journal:—							
Paper and Printing					706	14	9
Stamps					586	6	9
3. Library:—							
Books purchased					10	0	0
Book binding					285	8	0
Subscriptions to papers and journals					178	2	0
4. Investments					700	0	0
5. Stationery					172	14	3
6. Advance to Staff					190	0	0
7. Bank charges					25	12	0
8. Miscellaneous					392	6	0
				Total ...	4,912	5	9
Overdraft on 1-7-1945					756	15	1
					5,669	4	10
				Closing Balance c/o ...	44	14	9
				GRAND TOTAL ...	5,714	3	7

Certified correct,

(Sd.) T. M. S. SUBRAMANIAM,
Hony. Auditor.

(Sd.) S. SRIKANTAYA
General Secretary & Treasurer

REVIEWS

Ancient India Nos. 1 and 2. January and July 1946. **Bulletin of the Archæological Survey of India.** Price Rs. 2 or 3 Shillings each.

THIS new series is partly 'the outcome of war conditions, which stopped the printing of annual reports and monographs' but also 'an experiment in a new and timely form of publicity' and 'an attempt to put archæology regularly on to the bookstalls' under a plan to have articles of general interest with technical articles 'of interest primarily to the professed archæologist.'

'Notes on the Preservation of Antiquities in the Field' by Khan Bahadur Mohd. Sana Ullah, retired Archæological chemist and "Archæological Photography" by Squadron-leader, M.B. Cookson, R.A.F. who has had many years' experience as a photographer to archæological expeditions and as an instructor in archæological photography, are technical articles instructive and teeming with helpful suggestions. The Director General's address to the Indian Science Congress held at Bangalore in January 1946 on "Archæological Planning for India" emphasises unduly, in our opinion, one aspect of archæological work, namely, hunt for and study of, pre-historic antiquities and the study of archæology as a hand-maid of anthropology and is coloured by the prepossessions of the author and his specialised knowledge. This accounts for such sentences as "Indian humanistic science has been relegated largely to the future," "in India archæology and anthropology have admittedly all too little behind them." As he is himself aware, both are hand-maids to History and it is this last that records the activities of the faculty of man, "which exalts him above the other animals." The address is in other respects very useful and illuminating and it is to be hoped that it will mobilise the enthusiasm of 'natural science' workers in the elucidation of the problems of archæology and anthropology.

The article on the repairs to the Tāj Mahal in the first issue is of interest, though it gives no new information. The charming photograph of the Tāj, flood-lit on V.E. day 1945 by the U.S.A. troops will be a fitting permanent reminder of Agra's hospitality to them during the war. The second issue is enriched by the photograph of "Mahādeva" of the Elephanta Cave Temple taken by Dr. Stella Kramrisch and Mr. Neogy. Dr. Kramrisch's interpretation of the sculpture in the light of Viṣṇu-dharmōttara, of which the author is a translator and exponent, is instructive and very suggestive, though not wholly convincing. The other articles deal mainly with excavations and prehistoric and other antiquities secured at Taxila, Ahichchatra, Ādilābād, and Arikamedu, and two general articles one by Mr. Stuart Piggot on "The Chronology of Prehistoric North-West India" and another by Mr. K. R. Srinivasan on "Megalithic Burials and Urn-fields of South India in the Light of Tamil Literature and Tradition." Of the general articles, the first is a very instructive and masterly study. We shall deal with it again later. The second one appears, however, to yield little new light. The primary task in this field of the Officer who, we are glad to learn, has been 'appointed for the specific study of dealing with the prehistoric monuments in India,' would more profitably be the preparation of a comprehensive monograph collecting and collating with illustrations all the data now scattered over several journals and catalogues of the museums.

Of the excavations, that at Ādilābād, a part of the 'fourth' Delhi constructed by the Tughlaqs, was the beginning "made to map and explore" the successive cities of Delhi. It has been well done as is evident from the text, plans and photographs. The map from the air is specially attractive. About the cultural value of the results achieved, opinions may be divided. It is stated that "One of the objects of the excavations of this closely dated site (C.A.D. 1325) was to determine the pottery of the period and so to assist in the dating of other mediæval sites." We are repeatedly reminded in these volumes that pottery-sequence is the alphabet of archæology. But one does not look to the learning of the alphabet when he has reached the stage of familiarity with

literature; nor need one set about looking for chronology through pottery in periods when epigraphical, literary and similar contemporary evidence is already available in abundance. Preferably such excavations and explorations for pottery should be restricted to sites whose date is not known and the culture of the area or era is not discernible from epigraphical, sculptural or undisputed contemporary literature.

The studies of Taxila, Ahichchatra and Arikamedu are eminently of this kind. A comparative study of these three gives an excellent idea of the 'synthesis of sciences' adumbrated in the Director General's planning and a pleasant foretaste of what "the centralised school of archaeology of a highly specialised kind hoped" for by him could achieve. The Taxila (Bhir Mound) finds include bent-bar silver coins (56 in all). They bear on the obverse impresses at each end of the symbol (a circular design in relief composed of six tridents radiating from a central ring, with a pellet to one side and a straight line, extending from the central ring to the outer edge). Several coins bear also counter marks of various designs between the two impresses of the symbol. The bent-bar copper coins and about twenty round or square coins, several gold beads, (*amra* in shape), zigzag beads, pendants, bosses and terminals were also among them. Silver bell-shaped pendants, tubular space beads and finger rings, agate, amethyst, green jasper and a rock-crystal bead complete the list. The gems are specially interesting containing as they do (1) a lion tearing a deer and (2) stag galloping in beautiful realistic pose and revealing a high degree of skill. Most of the finds are of the fourth century B.C.

Ahichchatra, the ancient capital of North Pāñchāla was more or less in continuous occupation till A. D. 1100. The excavations have yielded nine strata of occupation. The earliest, "Stratum IX was not represented by any structural remains but by two pits cut into the natural soil." "Strata VIII and VII contained the the remains of *Kuccha* houses but were rich in finds." Strata VI and above showed brick-built structures. "The strata have been dated mainly on the basis of the latest coins found in each."

The Superintendent of Excavations, Mr. A. Ghosh, has written the historical introduction while Mr. K. C. Panigrahi has made a noteworthy study of the pottery and tabulated the main results of pottery-sequence and classification as a basis for comparative study with finds in other parts of India. Mr. Ghosh's study yields the following dates :—Stratum IX—Before 300 B.C. VIII—B.C. 300 to 200 B.C.; VII. 200 to 100 B.C.; VI & V B. C. 100 to A.D. 100 ; IV. 100 to 350 A.D.; III. 350 to 750 A.D.; II. 750 to 850 A. D. and Stratum I. 850 to 1100 A. D. Mr. K. C. Panigrahi's classification yields the following results :—Stratum IX. Five types of undecorated light grey and red wares, being bowl, lid or dish. Stratum VIII, eleven types of heavy grey ware, and light red ware with improved technique in neck and shoulder formations, provision of spout, lips, rim, loop, handle, and decorations stamped (being four conjoined taurines with a central prong which occurs also on grey terra-cotta animal figurines from the same stratum). Stratum VII, four types of grey bowl or dish, jar and pot stand and decorations of semi-circular pendants with hatchings, and close combing. Stratum VI & V, seven types of cooking pans, jars, bowl-shaped stoppers, bellied jars with a small bottle neck ; and rough decorations of close combed bonds. Stratum IV, nineteen types including a jar, ovoid in shape, with two detached ribbings (type 37) and similar jars with stamped designs of *mandipadas* alternating with rosettes (type 40) and “a curious vessel (type 44) which has loop handles on its grooved rim and a solid knob and hollow cup inside.” Decorations are more diversified from this stratum upwards. The higher strata show a larger variety of designs. Type 60 of Stratum II has also a conch with rosette as decoration.

The appendix on “Northern Black Polished Ware” by Mr. Krishna Deva and the Director General with a map of Northern India showing its distribution and the other on the Painted Grey Ware help to complete the picture of this yard stick in the debated fields of chronology.

The principal interest in the second number is in the comprehensive monograph “Arikamedu. An Indo-Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India.” This monograph comprises 108 out of

the 137 pages of the book. It is written by the Director General of Archæology with contributions on the Southern Sector by Mr. A. Ghosh and on local pottery and other finds by Mr. Krishna Deva. The inscriptional material is reported upon by the Government Epigraphist Dr. B. C. Chhabra and his predecessor and collaborators. The value of the monograph is enhanced by useful maps showing the finds of Roman Coins and of semi-precious stones elsewhere in India. The plans of the sites and excavations, the detailed list and description of the pottery, arretine and local, imported amphoral, the beads, terra-cotta objects, ivory and wooden objects and ropes, and illustrative figures and plates are very helpful for comparative study. The Mysore monograph on Chandravalli and Brahmagiri finds will furnish material for comparative study. Similar detailed monographs on Amaravati and the finds at Bairat in Jaipur State will be of great help. Coming soon after the article on 'Pottery of Ahichchatra' in the previous number of *Ancient India*, this monograph is of more value.

Arikamedu is near Pondicherry. This monograph is based on material collected by local French antiquaries and by the Archaeological Survey of India by intensive excavation in the months of April, May and June 1945. The interpretation of the data may be briefly indicated as follows:—

"At Arikamedu we are concerned primarily with the highest category of metropolitan sigillata.....named 'Arretine.' This Arretine sigillata originated at an undetermined date probably in the first century B. C.....It was driven from the western market by A. D. 50.....In the absence of alternative evidence, however, we must assume the general validity of the results of detailed study in western Europe and must suppose that no Arretine pottery reached India after A. D. 50.....I have proposed A. D. 20—50 as the inclusive period for the Arretine pottery at Arikamedu.....There were still eight feet of accumulation (in lower levels) the pottery from which did not include Arretine." The potter's stamps on Arretine ware noticed are "VIBII", "CAMVRI" and "IITTA", "VIBUS" is a known family of potters "who worked in the second and first centuries B. C." The

second is probably "G-AMURI" and represents Gaius, Amurius whose stamp occurs on a dish found at Hofheim in the Claudion period (A.D. 41—54). The last name is construed as "a retrograde stamp of the Augustan potter P. Attius.....in use within the period 11 B.C. to A. D. 16."

The evidence furnished by the beads is also interesting. "Coloured beads have a very wide distribution in India and outside. In India, apart from a sort of prototype at Mohenjodaro (3rd Millenium B. C.) they are known to occur at Chandravalli (Mysore State) in a stratum which produced two denarii of Tiberius (died A. D. 37) Konḍāpur and Māski (Hyderabad State) in strata said to be of the Āndhra period, Śisupāl (Orissa), Kauśāmbī (U.P.) Pātaliputra, (Bihar) Durgāpur (Bengal) and at Taxila (2nd Century B. C. to 2nd century A. D.). Outside India coloured beads at Gezar in Palestine have been dated B. C. 1000—500." Fragments of Roman lamp and Roman glass bowls also yield the 1st century B. C.—A. D. The Terra-cotta pieces and the unfinished (?) carved ivory are interesting for comparative study. They combiné, in our opinion, to indicate that the ivory statuette found at Pampeii in strata concerning this period and described by Dr. Vogel in the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology Vol. XIII, is in all probability, a production of South India of this period. The ivory piece has a close resemblance in its unfinished state to the back view of that figure though the full ornamentation is absent, the terra-cotta fragments show similarity of facial expression ornamentation and technique, making allowance for the greater exhuberance and richer variety applicable to a female figure. The epigraphical evidence on local potsherds indicate that their language is akin to that of some fifty short epigraphs found engraved on the rocks at natural rock shelters in South India especially in the district of Madura and Tinnevely. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti observes that though the script appears to belong to the first or second century B. C. when compared with the script of other Brāhmi inscriptions, particularly those found in the north, it should be relegated to a later period, as the development of forms after separation would not be so fast in Drāviḍi as in the regular Brāhmi. A very useful and instructive comparative chart of characters from

early South Indian inscriptions (Bhaṭṭiprolu, Arittapatti, other Madura and Tinnevely, Sittanavasal, Arikamedu and Mamandur) furnishes material for independent study and collating with letters of other known dates.

The monograph refers also to sherds of Chinese Celadon ware and Coḷa coins of the eleventh and adjacent centuries A. D. These are said to relate "not to the occupation of the site, but to its spoilation in the middle ages." We do not agree in this off-hand conclusion. Arikamedu could not have contained only the single factory or the single warehouse that has been excavated on the sea shore. Admittedly there must have been population, both north and south along the coast and west in the interior. Nor can it be asserted yet that the entire town and port was abandoned immediately after the second century A. D. More extensive excavations and also trial pits in a considerable larger area will have to be undertaken before the latest date of the port can be settled. A reasonable presumption would be that the population continued and developed eventually into the modern Pondicherry.

In a note on the Terra-cotta figures at Pondicherry, published with illustrations in January 1940 (Vol. XXX, No. 3) issue of the Q.J.M.S. Mr. S. Srikantaya of the Mythic Society, referred to the rich archæological material awaiting the explorer's spade in the environs of Pondicherry—especially at Arikamedu near Kakaiyan Tope which would open up possibilities of the existence of a civilization in South India far anterior to any known to us and further study and research may be expected to yield splendid results.

We may now conclude this rather lengthy review with a brief indication of the points brought out in Mr. Piggot's article. He discusses "the relationship, cultural and chronological, of Mohenjodaro and Harappa culture, with that of other Asiatic cities and cultures of the fourth and third millennia B.C." The area covered by the study divides itself into two geographical regions: the Baluchistan highlands on the West and the riverine plains of the Indus and the Punjab in the east. In the Baluchi hills we have variety amid poverty; in the Indus and the Punjab uniformity and

prosperity. The chronology of these cultures is discussed in the logical stages by which their dating is built up, first by determining the relative position of one culture to another by stratigraphy, next by comparison of significant types and styles of ornament between the cultures, and thirdly by comparison and equation between the Indian cultures and those of Iran and Iraq where a mass of detailed stratigraphical and chronological evidence exists. Without accepting the parenthetical observation of the author that the Iranian cultures were parental to those of India—a point still under controversy—we may note the following classification of local cultures and their relative sequence :—

(A) Red ware

(i) The Zhob culture; (ii) The Harappa culture including Chanhudaro, Strata I a, b & c, prevalent in cities and towns and villages in Southern Sindh, and (iii) Cemetery "H" ware at Harappa.

(B) Buff ware (all peasant communities)

(iv) Quetta ware, (v) The Amri culture localised in Sindh, (vi) The Nal culture, (vii) The Kulli culture, (viii) The Shahi-tump culture [vi, vii & viii, belong to South Baluchistan], (ix) The Jhukar culture, and (x) The Jhangar culture, [ix and x known only in Sindh].

At Amri, Lohri and Pand Wahi, Amri culture settlements were found below Harappa culture levels. At Chanhudaro, of the five occupation levels, the first (lowest) three were successive rebuildings of a Harappa town, the fourth of the Jhukar and the fifth and latest of the Jhangar culture. Lohunjodaro yielded the same story. "Shahi-tump burials have been made into the summit of a small tell which consisted of at least two building levels of the Kulli culture and which yielded also a fragment of a clay toy cart of Harappa type." Nal similarly shows itself later than Zhob and perhaps of Kulli occupation. "Summing up this evidence we find that, taking Harappa culture as a central point, the Amri culture and Quetta were as earlier, as the Kulli culture as partly at least contemporary, and Jhukar, Shahi-tump, Cemetery 'H' and

Jahangar as subsequent. Nal may be partly contemporary and partly later." Turning to stylistic comparisons, a general similarity in such stylistic features as pottery-decoration need not necessarily imply contemporaneity, but may involve a relationship in which one culture is ancestral to another at some remove of time. Specific and detailed similarity may well establish a presumption of chronological equality. While on economic grounds the Harappa culture stands unparalleled among the Indian sites as a complex urban civilisation in contrast to simple peasant economics, parallelism is still traceable in common pottery motifs and designs. "The sum of information from this line of enquiry agrees well with that derived from the extant stratification and amplifies it to some extent." The next stage of the essay "The Indian Culture in their Wider Setting" is very instructive and interesting but bristles with controversial matters not admitting of consideration in a review. On the materials available, the Harappa culture cannot be dated earlier than 'mid-early dynastic times' and the end of the culture can be placed will be, 'the third dynasty or Ur or even Isin-Larsa times, and "The Zhob culture must overlap with Hissar I" and "Kulli as firm chronological contacts with early dynastic I in its 'scarlet ware' analogue and again with Early Dynastic III in the carved steatite boxes." On the probable origin of the Indian cultures, Mr. Piggot makes the following observations: "The true origins of the Harappa culture are still unknown, its appearance in the Indian culture sequence marks precisely the same step forward as the establishment of the Early Dynastic period in Sumner and that alone of the lesser barbaric culture identified in north-western India, Kulli has direct contact with the centres of higher civilisation." A comparative chronological table of Iranian, Iraqi and Indian cultures and an ample bibliography conclude this most interesting and informative essay which is illustrated with a map and two full pages of decorative sherds relating to the several cultures.

In conclusion, we hope that the future issues of the Bulletin will be representative of all branches of the Department's

activities and that the claims of epigraphy and sculpture and of exploration of historical sites of the early centuries preceding and succeeding the Christian Era will not be overlooked.

A. V. RAMANATHAN

Constituent Assemblies of the World. By T. S. Venkataraman, B.A., B.L. The Madras Law Journal Office, Mylapore, Madras. Price Rs. 6-0-0.

MR. T. S. VENKATARAMAN has collected together in a short compass accounts of the various Constituent Assemblies which have been formed with the purpose of drafting constitutions for different states commencing with the first convention held in the State of Massachusetts in the United States of America in about 1780 and onwards. Those of us who have been following the events connected with the Indian Constituent Assembly which is now sitting or are concerned with similar work elsewhere can look forward to and this book with instruction and profit. The wisdom of the ages and the available talent—legal, commercial, administrative and otherwise has been harnessed into the work of the Indian Constituent Assembly which is now both a formal institution for drafting the constitution for the Indian Union and also a deliberative legislative assembly for legislative business and to act as a check on government in whose hands have been entrusted the destinies of three hundred millions of the Indian people.

S. S.

Telugu Literature (Andhra Literature). By Prof. P. T. Raju, M.A., Ph.D., Sastry. The P. E. N. Books. The Indian Literature. No. XV. Edited by Sophia Wadia for the P.E.N. All India Centre and published by the International Book House, Ltd. Ash Lane, Fort, Bombay, for the P.E.N. All India Centre, Aryasangha, Malabar Hill, Bombay. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

It is a happy idea of the P.E.N. All India Centre to bring out this series of books devoted to each of the main Indian Languages

dealing with (1) the history of its literature, (2) modern developments, and (3) giving an anthology. The general editor, Srimati Sophia Wadia who founded the Indian Centre in 1933 deserves to be congratulated on the excellent team she has secured for the fruition of this object. As remarked by her in her foreword (written in 1944) "India's servitude affects her indigenous culture on every plane.....Mainly because of her pre-occupation (with politics) Indians have under valued the literary unfoldment of the last few years in the different linguistic areas"....."Our many languages are channels of cultural enrichment. Many educated Indians are not familiar with the literary wealth of any Indian language other than their own." The series therefore fulfils a real need. But it needs to be supplemented, by similar manuals in every Indian language about the history and specimens of literature of every other language.

Telugu was the first language to present to her people the rich productions of Bengal in renaissant India. Latterly, there has been an organised movement among literary writers in Indian languages to present translations from sister Indian languages with this end.

The work before us has a scholarly introduction from Dr. Sir C. R. Reddy, the talented Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, himself one of the pioneer renaissant Telugu Literature. He rightly points out that though the book is called "Telugu Literature", it is wider in its scope and is a treatise on the Āndhra contribution to the culture of India. He claims that "there are hardly any other people in India who have played so various and illustrious a part in the political and in the cultural development of India" and raises the questions "who were the original Āndhras? Are they the same as the Telugus?" He summarises the three hypothesis underlying the discussions on this point as follows:

(1) "A North-Indian Āryan tribe with an Āryan language but which adopted non-Āryan culture and thus incurred the contempt of the Āryans; (2) A North-Indian non-Āryan tribe which adopted the culture and the language of the Āryans and (3)

A South Indian Dravidian tribe which assimilated Āryan culture and some elements of Prākṛit but retained both racially and linguistically its essential Dravidian character." The Author has also contributed a learned foreword which he commences with the words "No correct estimation of any provincial literature is possible without taking into consideration the contribution which that province has made to Sanskrit literature.....So far as it is influenced by Sanskrit, the poetry of the whole of India will look alike. Still, there is poetry of a purely indigenous growth, particularly folk-songs, heroic ballads, cradle songs, songs of benedictions. As an instance of local usage, the author cites, the comparison of a pretty face to a parrot, unlike the Sanskrit where comparisons with moon, or lotus is more common. The comparison with parrot appears to be common for Dravidian languages cf. Tamil folk-song

“பஞ்ச வர்ண கிளிபோலொரு பெண்ணை நான் பார்த்து
வந்தேனய்யா சாமி.”

Regarding the author's claim of Āndhra contribution to Indian culture, it is however to be remarked that in some points, it is too broad; for example he claims Bhavabhūti for Āndhra though he worked in Kashmir, because he went to Kashmir from Vidharbha, bordering on Telingana, and Gunadhya for Āndhra because he was a minister to a Śātavāhana emperor, and Nāgārjuna, Ārya Deva and Dignaga for Āndhra because "the Āndhra was the place of their activities" though "they may not have been born in the country between the Godavari and the Krishna, and who their parents were, it is difficult to establish." Even leaving these examples, Āndhras have made valuable contribution. Dr. Raju elucidates several interesting points in old Āndhra literature in a brief compass of fifty-one pages and he richly deserves the pronouncement by Dr. C. R. Reddy about the work as "one of the most valuable ever-produced on the subject of Telugu literature set against the back ground of general Āndhra culture and history." But his summary of modern trends is not equally successful or masterly. He does little justice to the part played by the writers in the wake of the great Vceeraśalingam for national, social and cultural awakening in the past half century or more. The Anthology could also have been more representative

of passages with local colour. In their English garb, the reader can hardly detect what the Āndhra genius is in those passages. Villuputtur from Krishnadeva Rāya's *Āmuktamālavāda* and Awakening from Rayaprolu Subba Rao are exceptions.

A. V. R.

Aryan Path. January 1948. Vol. XIX. No. 1.—Edited by Sophia Wadia, "Aryasangha" Malabar Hill, Bombay. 6. Published by Kishansingh Chavda at Sadhana Press, Raopura, Baroda. Annual Subscription Rs. 6 0-0, single copy annas 12.

CAREFULLY edited, beautifully got up and punctual in publication, the Aryan Path has attained a recognised position amongst the thought-provoking journals of the world during the past eighteen years and we have no doubt it will continue to assist man in the development of his personality and moral elevation. Through it is spread also the spiritual light of India to the four corners of the globe in a spirit of humility and tolerance, the well-known traditional path which forms the basis of all, particularly Indian, philosophy. Of the articles in the January 1948 issue the testimony of George Fox, Founder of Quakerism proclaiming a denial of all outward wars and strife, and fightings with outward weapons for any end or under any pretence whatever; may be mentioned. True civility stands in truth. Sri Krishna Prem writes on the origin and development of man from what he regards as a factual point of view; Dr. Margaret Smith brings together a few sparkling gems from Arabic mines to enrich the present-day world improvement. Roger N. Baldwin draws a very hopeful prospect for the noble cause of liberty for the individual and the state. In 'Socialism Come True', Dr. Anita Kashyap gives an account of the practical system of socialism worked out by Jewish agriculturists in Palestine. In Metaphysics as well, as Sir Aurobindo says reason was the helper though today it is the bar: Justice rules the world. Several books are reviewed and extracts from addresses given.

A new feature is the attention given to the work of the Indian Institute of Culture in Basavanagudi, Bangalore, devoted to cultural uplift.

S.S.

SANSKRIT

Anūpasimhacupāvatāra. By Vitthala Krishna. Edited by C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., Ph.D., Phil. (Oxon.). The Ganga Oriental Series. Dedicatory Volume. Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner.

THE book under review is the Dedicatory volume of the Ganga Oriental Series published by the Government of Bikaner. This work is in ten chapters, and it extolls the noble qualities of Mahārāja Anūpsinghji who ruled Bikaner from 1669-1698 A.D. Anūpsinghji founded the kingdom of Bikaner in the third quarter of the fourteenth century A.D. The rulers of Bikaner were not invested with the title of Mahārāja but Anūpsinghji was created one by Aurangzeb in 1687 A.D. on account of the valour displayed by Anūpsinghji in the capture of Bijapur. Anūpsinghji took great interest in collecting rare works in Sanskrit and built the Library at Bikaner. It is said that he even purchased the library of Kavindracārya of Kāśī (Benares) who was the guru of the ill-fated, Dara Shukoh. Even now in the library of Bikaner rare works in Sanskrit are available.

The author of the work was a contemporary of the Mahārāja. He has taken a number of years to write this work, for in one place he calls him crown prince and in another place as Mahārāja.

The author praises Nārāyaṇa in the benedictory śloka. In the tenth śloka of the *āśīrvādavatara*, he mentions the *prapattimārga* of the Śrīvaiṣṇvas. His words are: “न्यासे श्री दशतत्त्वे निजपदस्वात्मार्पकाणां यथा.” Evidently the author must be a Śrīvaiṣṇava and such being the case it becomes highly doubtful whether the author could have composed the last śloka in praise of Śiva.

The Editor has taken great pains in translating this work. In some places the translation is faithful to the original sense. In one place the English equivalent of ‘नाकभवन’ ‘*nākabhavana*’ is given as ‘the abode of the Nāgas’. In another place ‘निधीश्वर’ *nīdhīśvara* is translated as ‘You support treasures (i.e. you are *Vaiśhravana*).’

The Government of Bikaner has undertaken to publish rare works in Sanskrit under the Ganga Oriental Series and it is but befitting that this dedicatory volume should deal with the founder of the library. We wish all success to this noble enterprise.

M. B. N.

Akbarasahi-Sringaradarpana of Padmasundara. Edited by K. Madhava Krishna Sarma, M.O.L. The Ganga Oriental Series. No. 1. Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner.

AKBARSAHI-SRINGARADARPANA is a work on poetics written by Padmasundara, a contemporary of the Moghul Emperor, Akbar. The first three chapters deal exclusively with the various phases of *Ṛṅgāra rasa*. The last chapter is devoted to the consideration of the other *rasas* and also the four *ritis* (varieties or styles). This work follows closely Rudrata's *Ṛṅgaratilaka*. In the appendix is given another work on the same subject known as *Ṛṅgāra Sanjivini*.

The author is a Jaina by religion and has written this work under the patronage of the Muslim ruler, Akbar. In the introductory śloka the name of the Supreme Being is given as *Rahmān* and the work proves clearly that Akbar was tolerant towards all religions and that God could be worshipped by any name. The editor has rightly remarked " It is that man has only one religion and that is the worship of the Supreme Light. How such accidental differences as of culture, language and geography sink into insignificance in the realisation of this Truth ! " The appendices, notes and Index make for an easy understanding of the work.

M. B. N.

Jagadvijayacchandasa of Kavindracharya. Edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. The Ganga Oriental Series. No. 2. Anup Sanskrit Library. Bikaner.

TWO *dandakas* of the same name are published in this work ; the first in praise of *Śiva* who is called *ma* in the work and the second, a short one, wherein a devotee prays that both himself and the

path of *bhakti* which he has resorted to for the realisation of the *ātman* and for the attainment of God be protected from the evil eye. The author, in both these works uses different words in different senses in different contexts. To understand the correct meaning the reader has to resort to the lexicons dealing with *nānārthas*.

The author, Kavindrācārya, lived in the court of Shah Jahan, the Great Mughal Emperor. He was running a Sanskrit College at *Kāśī* (Benares), the centre of Hindu pilgrimage. He was paid an annual pension of about Rs. 2,000 which was stopped by Aurangzeb as he found that this poet was the *guru* of his brother Dara Shukoh.

According to the editor Jagadvijaya is Jehangir, the great Mughal emperor. The work is of a high literary merit and we commend it to all lovers of Sanskrit Literature.

M. B. N.

Bhagavad Gita—*Bharateeya dras'anāni chā*. By Mahamahopadhyaya Anantakrishna Sastri. Published by the Bharateeya Vidya Bhavan. Bombay. Price Rs. 2-12-0.

BHAGAVADGĪTA is the book for all times and for all climes. It has solved the many knotty problems of life. Mahatma Gandhi once remarked that he would refer to this book whenever he was in a dilemma. What then is the cause for such a state of affairs? The great epic, Mahābhārata, itself has given the solution. It states that Gita enjoins everyone to do his duty consistent with God's plan and purpose in life. The duty has to be done for duty's sake. No one should aspire for the results arising therefrom. According to Rāmānuja the performance of these duties will lead one ultimately to take up the path of *bhakti* for the realisation of the *ātman* and attainment of God. Śaṅkarācārya says that these duties will be the stepping stone for resorting to the path of *Gñāna-Yōga* that is essential for the realisation of the oneness of the *ātman* with the absolute.

Mahābhārata gives a definition of duty in the following ślōka :

धर्मोणार्थागमं कुर्याद् धर्ममर्थयुतं चरेत् ।
अविरोधेन कामस्य धर्ममर्थं च संचरेत् ॥

But Mr. Anantakrishna Sastri adds a rider to this definition. He says that every one must do the duties mentioned in the *sāstra*, consistent with his status in life. He quotes with authority :

धर्माविरुद्धोभूतेषु कामोऽस्मि भरतर्षभ ।

(Gita 7-11).

Kālidāsa comes to the same conclusion when he says :

अनेन धर्मः अविशेषमद्य मे त्रिवर्गसारः प्रतिभाति भामिनि ।
त्वया मनोनिर्विषयार्थकामया यदेक एव परिगृह्य सेव्यते ॥

(Kumārasambhava 5-38).

In the book under review Mr. Anantakrishna Sastri deals with the various systems of Indian philosophy mentioned in the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata viz., the Śāṅkhya of Kapila, Yoga of Patanjali, Mimamsa, Pancharatra and P'supata. Incidentally he mentions Jainism, Buddhism and the religion of the Cāruvākas. He shows, in these ten essays how the Bhagavad Gīta could be interpreted according to the various systems of Indian philosophy. He comes to the conclusion that the interpretation of Śāṅkaracārya is the correct one. But he does not dismiss the other systems as worthless. He says that the other systems are there and they are intended only for those who move in a lower plane. Ultimately these systems lead to the realisation of the oneness of the *ātman* with the Brahman.

Mr. Anantakrishna Sastri mentions certain facts in this book. They are (1) The *Umāmahēśvara Samvāda* of the *Anusasaneeka parvan* has been held to be an interpolation by the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona ; (2) The *Pāñcharātra* āgamas approve of the *Pishtapasu yōga* ; (3) Dr. Sukthankar has proved that the first ślōka of the Mahābhārata should be :

नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् ।
देवीं सरस्वतीं व्यासं ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥

In the critical edition published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute the word 'चैव' *chaiva* is used in place of 'व्यास' *Vyāsam*. But Lokamanya Tilak alone has tried to establish this emendation of this ślōka in his *Gīta Rahasya*.

The teachings of the Gīta have been held to be the same as that which is taught in the Upanisads. In the *Mahābhārata* the following ślōka occurs :

सर्वोपनिषदो गात्रो दोग्धा गोपालनन्दनः ।
पार्थो वत्सः सुधर्मोक्ता दुग्धं गीतामृतं महत् ॥

Mr. Anantakrishna Sastri has made a critical study of the Gīta in about ninety-four pages of printed matter. This work possesses a high literary merit and it is the first of the kind in the field of higher criticism. We recommend this book for the general public.

M.B.N.

HINDI

Gita Mañjari.—An Anthology of old Rajasthani Bardic Songs. The Sadul Oriental Series.—Dedicatory Volume. Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner.

THE SADUL Oriental Series of which the work under review is the Dedicatory Volume is devoted to the publication of Hindi and Rajasthani works. *Gita Mañjari* is a collection of songs composed in honour of the rulers of Bikaner. The songs are of high literary merit. Poet-Laureates were encouraged by the Bikaner Royal House as is evident from the several songs composed by those poets on occasions. It has to be remembered that the motto of these rulers was “पिता समान प्रजा नै पाले”.

We wish every success to this new endeavour of the Bikaner Durbar.

M. B. N.

OBITUARY

Rajasevasakta Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar

DR. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar was one of the founders of the Mythic Society and a pioneer in the field of South Indian History and research. First a teacher of history and then a Professor of English in the Central College, Bangalore; from 1914 a Professor occupying the chair of Indian History and Archæology in the University of Madras, he had endeared himself to his students and colleagues many of whom, under his careful training, occupy high positions in the academic world. He reconstructed the History of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries of India by explaining and removing many a misunderstanding and misconception in its earlier setting. As associate editor of the Indian Antiquary and himself the editor of the Journal of Indian History for over two decades till it was handed over to the authorities of the Travancore University, in the Indian Historical Records Commission of which he was a member for many years, an Honorary correspondent to the Archæological Survey of India and in the Senate, Academic Council and Syndicate of both the Mysore and the Madras Universities, his contribution to historical research was appreciable for half a century.

S. S.

Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy

IN the sad demise of Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy in September 1947 at Boston where he was Curator of the Eastern Section of the Museum of Fine Arts, India in particular and the world of artists in general have lost a great exponent of Indian Art. He came of a noble and distinguished family of scholars of Ceylon. He was a scientist by training and his mysticism and his pride in the glory of the ancient culture of the Aryans made him rebel against the conventions of progress introduced by western contacts. If Svami Vivekananda spread

the spiritual and philosophical glories of India in the Western Hemisphere, Dr. Coomaraswamy's influence in that Hemisphere fused Indian thought in Art and Philosophy, for Indian Art has close contact with Indian Philosophy. He was an institution by himself. He lived to a ripe age of seventy years and his passing away will be deeply mourned by artists all over the world.

S. S.

Rajasevasakta D. Venkataramiah

RAJASEVASAKTA D. VENKATARAMIAH, an erudite Sanskrit scholar and of a highly philosophical bent, was in the Education Department of the Government of Mysore and retired as the Deputy Inspector-General of Education. He was Chairman of the Board of Sanskrit Studies in Mysore for many years. His works are published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series and in the pages of this journal. His discourses on Philosophy and Oriental Literature were scholarly and helped students to solve many controversial problems.

S. S.

Dr. M. H. Krishna

THE Science of Archaeology has lost a well-known scholar in the demise of Dr. M. H. Krishna. In 1924 he visited many places in the Continent of Europe, secured a Doctorate in the Paris University and conducted researches in the Egyptian Antiquities under the care of Dr. Flinders Petri. He was appointed Professor of History in the University of Mysore in 1926. He also became the Director of Archaeology in Mysore, which place he held with distinction till his death. Besides, he was an ardent lover of Kannada Literature and was associated with the Mythic Society for over two decades and served on its Committee for many years.

S. S.

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